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[Selected translations from the Russian-language monthly journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Refer to the table of contents for a listing of any articles not translated]

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THEORETICAL METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Reflections on the Subject of Sociology

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ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Feb 90 (signed to
press 21 Dec 89) pp 3-16

[Article by Vladimir Aleksandrovich Yadov, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and director of the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He is a permanent contributor to our journal]

[Text] Posing the Problem

The questions of the subject of a science are questions about what is to be studied and how, what is to be taught and how in the given area of knowledge and where lie the boundaries for the competence of the specialist. In research practice we encounter the necessity of cutting across the boundaries of the subject zone. But it is possible to make such a move by two ways: by the legal and by the sub rosa, in observing certain rules or ignoring them. In the first instance, the very fact of the crossing of boundaries is recognized and, correspondingly, the need to resort to the conceptual and methodological apparatus of the adjacent area of knowledge or the need to draw in specialists in this area. The "illegal" transition is fraught with dilettantism and incompetence. Such is the logic of the present division of labor in science where a deepening of professionalization is accompanied by integration in the interdisciplinary ties and comprehensive research on the general subject.

In my view, the chief failing of our former discussions about the subject of sociology has been their specific focus: not so much to explain the actual subject area of the science as it is to show that it is not in contradiction with Marxist philosophy and a Marxist ideology. Hence, the placing of accents on how sociology correlates with historical materialism, with the theory of scientific communism and how its methods conform to the overall dialectical materialistic methodology [1]. Predominantly these were debates about an ideological property and in them the concepts of social science and ideology were often confused.

At the same time, these are fundamentally different spheres of spiritual activity. Science, including social science, must reflect objective truth, utilizing a constantly updated apparatus of knowledge concerning its

subject. Ideology performs a different function in that it reflects the social interest of certain social forces. Ideological awareness, in the first place, is centered on an expression of fundamental social interests and, secondly, represents them in a system of views concerning the aims of achieving a certain social ideal and the means which should be (or can be) employed for this.

Ideology, in being based upon an objective scientific knowledge, merits the status of a science. Otherwise, it is illusory. But science, when based on an ideology, loses the right to be called a science and is converted into a pseudoscientific apologetics of a social interest.

As a consequence of the total ideologization of social sciences, what emerged "from there" was assumed to be knowingly alien, class unacceptable and bourgeois merely because it supposedly expressed alien social interests and an alien ideology. Everything that derived from our ideology was clearly assumed to be scientific, objectively true and progressive by definition. For this reason **our first thesis** is: let us examine the subject of the science and only then let us establish what are the consequences of the obtained knowledge for ideological analysis.

What is the object and subject of scientific knowledge, do they coincide? No, they do not coincide, for the object of any science is what the process of research is directed at while its subject area includes those aspects, linkages and relationships which comprise the object and are to be studied.

The object of sociology, as of the other social sciences, is social reality and for this reason sociology is a science concerned with society. But this is not sufficient for determining its subject. This is merely an indication as to the object of the research which coincides with the object of other social sciences be this history, ethnography, demography or law. Sociology is a science concerned with the integralness of social relations and society as an integrated organism. Here we come close to the subject area of sociology, however let us interrupt the discussion for a slight methodological commentary.

The subject of a science cannot be stable. It is in constant motion, development, becoming, like the very process of cognition itself. Its movement depends upon two crucial factors: the progress of scientific knowledge itself, on the one hand, and the changing requirements of society and the social demand, on the other. In the study of science, these factors have stimulated two approaches to studying the process of scientific development—internalist and externalist.

With the first approach, attention is focused on the fact that the subject area of a science changes either radically, in a revolutionary manner in the event of a change in the scientific paradigm itself or the underlying principles of the given science, or in an evolutionary manner, as the categorical apparatus and methods of research within the framework of the given paradigm. With the externalist approach, those aspects of the development of the subject of a science are isolated which are linked to changes

of a practical interest, the organization of the science itself and so forth. Both approaches are equally valid and show a tendency toward integration into one whereby the cognitive processes in the development of a science (the internalist trend) are viewed in the context of social processes (the externalist trend).

Obviously, sociology cannot help but undergo changes in the definition of its subject area, for the latter has been shaped and continues to be shaped *purposefully* under the impact of the mentioned factors. It is precisely the posing of goals which operates as an inner stimulating force in the development of science like any human activity. Science shapes its own goals as tasks for its own development and as transforming tasks, that is, as the spontaneous movement of knowledge and as its practical application.

Our second thesis is: the subject area of sociology is not something stagnant and given once and for all, but rather it is constantly changing. For this reason, in a discussion of the subject of sociology, it is essential to make clear what it is not, so to speak, generally, but what it is in particular at a given level of development in world and domestic science as well as under the given concrete historical conditions.

Let us make a short historical digression.

Over the century and a half in defining the subject of sociology, two trends have clashed and the sources of these lie in the classic philosophical antinomy of the conceptual-theoretical and phenomenological approaches to an analysis of natural and social phenomena. This has been pointed up by the authors of a monograph on modern social theories R. Turner and A. Giddens [2, pp 1-9]. An analogous viewpoint has been advanced by N. Smelser [3, pp 3-10]. It is a question, in essence, that in sociology two poorly interrelated theoretical paradigms have developed in parallel: the macrosociological and the microsociological. The "macro-theorists" draw on the concepts of society, culture, social institutions, social systems and structures and global social processes. The "microtheorists" work with the concepts of social behavior, focusing attention on its mechanisms and including interpersonal interaction, motivation, the stimuli of group actions and so forth.

And hence, the two completely different approaches to a definition of sociology: one in the direction of developing its subject as a society dealing with the whole of the social organism, about social organizations and the social system, while the other is seen as a science dealing with mass social processes and mass behavior. It would be wrong to consider the former theoretical and latter applied as they realize both functions of science. With the first approach sociology comes into contact with demographic, economic and political sciences and with the second, with social psychology.

Sociology and Social Philosophy

Although the "father of sociology" Auguste Comte, in the opinion of A. Boskoff, is still only a protosociologist,¹ since he drew upon analogies from physics and initially termed the science itself social physics, he, in essence, formulated the paradigm of theoretical macrosociology.

The main content of this paradigm is the seeing of society as a whole social organism; the isolating of the main aspects of the subject area, that is, the social structure, the social institutions and the social changes and processes; the establishing of empirical methods of research as the factual basis of knowledge and standing in opposition to speculative philosophical knowledge.

The idea prevailing in classic European sociology of the functional purposefulness of social organization is ontologically based on analogies with the self-organization of biological systems and gnoseologically relates back to philosophical rationalism.

The notion of the functional nature of social ties as proposed by A. Comte in the works of G. Spenser was elevated to direct analogies with the teachings of C. Darwin concerning the evolution of the social organism. E. Durkheim introduced the concept of the "social fact" as something given which should be explained from the viewpoint of its functional nature in relation to the ordered system of the beliefs of collective conscience and which underpin the social whole.

The idea of the rational organization of social institutions of M. Weber is linked to the neo-Kantian philosophical tradition. Weber preferred to interpret the social conduct of individuals in a spirit of rationalism, and it is precisely from here that the notion of the economic man who is rational by nature derives its sources.

The subject of sociology, as it has been laid out in the European tradition, is the investigation of the whole social organism, its systematic nature and underpinned either by beliefs and moral values or by a rational division of labor, socially useful functions and this provides the ordering of the entire social organism for the sake of which society creates the institutions required for its normal functioning such as property, the state, law, education, religion and so forth. Here the superindividual moves to the forefront in the regulating of human conduct and human communities and the subject of research is the deindividualized structures of the social organization. This tradition subsequently was developed in the theories of the structural-functional understanding of the social system of T. Parsons and R. Merton.

Present-day phenomenological and ethnomethodological sociology are also not "crystal clear" but have been subjected to philosophical influences. Any theoretical concept relating to the interpretation of the social, in one way or another, is linked to a more general philosophical approach, a philosophical view of man and his life in this

world. The phenomenological line in sociology ties in with philosophical existentialism and the idea of the "development" of the external world from the inner world of man. No matter how the phenomenologists explained the determination of the perception of the world by individuals and their behavior (including also by the effect of superindividual structures), the point of reference in interpreting the behavior of man and the behavior of the masses here shifts to elucidating the interindividual interaction.

The Third Thesis. Any sociological concept in one way or another is catalyzed by a certain philosophical world view. But as our sociology is directly linked to the dialectical materialistic world view and Marxist philosophy, there are grounds to term it Marxist-Leninist. In so doing, the indicating of a philosophical orientation for sociology which in its own intrinsic, essential content differs from social philosophy, utilizes its own categorical apparatus correlated to the factual basis of social knowledge.

In asserting an independent status for sociology as a nonphilosophical science dealing with society, we should be clearly aware that this does not mean the proclaiming of philosophical nihilism. In its cognitive reliance on the philosophy of dialectical materialism, sociology gains an opportunity, on the one hand, to analyze more profoundly the empirically recorded realities and, on the other, to divorce itself from the directly factual basis and very simple empirical generalizations on the level of particular sociological theories, and to deepen the interpretation of the observed phenomena and processes in the context of the sociophilosophical vision of the historical processes.

Precisely the abandoning of the underlying dialectical materialistic principles has led to various false assertions about our social reality. Thus, contrary to common sense and the principle of the primacy of material existence, numerous phenomena of the "nonsocialist" in the way of life have been interpreted as the vestiges of the past, although they have been basically fostered or even encouraged by the real present. While upholding in words contradictoriness as a source of development, we in some way have fallen into the illusion of movement toward social homogeneity and a harmony of social interests. In recognizing the principle of the dialectical relationship of the general, the particular and the individual, we theoretically have examined the uniformity of the forms of social organization, the forms of ownership and the models of a socialist society as a whole. In asserting in words the dialectic of content and form ("form has content"), they have converted the national into a contentless shell of a single socialist culture....

Philosophical ideals and principles are directly incorporated in macrosociological analysis. But these also "work" on the level of the microsociological interpretation of the social. The same dialectic of the general and the particular helps to understand and correctly interpret

the data of the multidimensional analysis of mass statistics, and protects us from the lure of obtaining unconditionally reliable information by an infinite differentiation of the variables and by reducing a general trend toward its specific empirical states at individual points of social space and at a given moment of time. This method of analysis is observed in the desire to break down the general mass of data without any restraint. In and of itself, the action is reasonable if it were not that behind this stands the refutation of the dialectically opposite correct assertion that in a mass of individual events one must seek out the essentially general manifestations.

The same applies to the use of the principle of the historical approach, the development, the vision of the process of the rise of the new with the retention of the old and generally to an analysis of the dialectics of stability and variability in social ties and phenomena. For example, the qualitative "thresholds" of changes in social processes can, of course, be recorded on the level of the statistical significance of shifts in the analyzed data. However, from the philosophical viewpoint, it would be useful albeit hypothetically to determine the "natural" measure of a social quality, that is, the quantitative-qualitative definiteness inherent to the given social process in temporal space. For instance, the dynamics of shifts in mass awareness and mass conduct differs qualitatively in terms of the rate of change depending upon their structural level: on the one hand, the deep-seated value structures of conscience and the strategic line of behavior and, on the other, the flexible forms of conduct, tactical actions and their corresponding social sets which are more variable in comparison with the former.

The Subject of Sociology in Light of the Cultural-Historical Tradition and Social Demand

The influence of the mentioned factors on the understanding of the subject of sociology is the **fourth thesis** which we intend to establish.

By the mid-20th Century, two trends could be seen with full certainty in the development of world sociology: the American and the European. European sociology has developed in close relation to social philosophy, while American initially was formed as a science predominantly dealing with human behavior. Sociology in the United States dates back to the Chicago School of the 1920s, although the first sociology chairs were established in the 1890s. Precisely the Chicago School in establishing the method of observation and other forms of field research, created a particular appearance of American sociology. Up to the present, this has been predominantly a problem-oriented behavioral science. As for classic European sociology, it has not only gravitated toward the social philosophical tradition but moreover has been subject-oriented.

From the mid-20th Century, these "pure" lines in the development of world sociology have been obliterated.

In the 1920s-1940s, in the United States, along with the particularly American school in the development of sociology, also influential was the European represented primarily by such major theorists as T. Parsons and P. Sorokin. Parsons was the last American sociologist to show a profound interest in macrosociological theory. At present, this interest has been lost. The main achievements of American sociology have been the numerous theories of the average level, particularly in such areas as the theory of organization, social structure, small groups, collective behavior, mass communications, the sociology of labor and professions and the family. Oriented at solving specific social problems, and this conforms fully to the domestic pragmatism, American sociology has opened up new areas which either were not studied at all previously or had remained on the periphery of the larger subject areas of sociological research.

This problem-applied orientation, according to the evidence of N. Smelser [3, p 16], gained a very strong impulse during the period of the Great Depression. The classic works on the study of unemployment and its impact on the family date to the 1930s. During the war, research on propaganda and mass communications was developed and in the 1960s, mass movements (student actions, the civil rights movement) and in our days research on the relationships of the sexes and age groups. Also part of the classics of sociology are the works of G. Murdahl on race relations (the 1940s) and these provided an impetus for a broad area of applied research in this field.

Over the 30 years there has been a change in the vision of the very subject of sociology. This is clearly demonstrated by the university courses given at the U.S. sociological faculties. Let us compare the content of the popular textbook by H. Becker and A. Boskoff (1957) [4] and the handbook edited by N. Smelser (1988) [5].

In the book of Becker and Boskoff, there are the following sections: basic trends in the theory and methodology with an analysis of social thought, sociological theories of the recent past, the present state of sociological theory, structural-functional analysis, methodology, techniques and procedures of research, while the second part of the book includes certain types of specialized modern sociology, namely: the study of small groups, social conflicts, social stratification, the sociology of cognition, law, religion and art, plus border areas (cultural anthropology and social psychology). This textbook is marked by a focus on the subjects of macrosociological problems. Here sociology is a science dealing with the social whole, social systems, social organization and social processes.

The sociology course for graduate students in the handbook edited by N. Smelser is organized differently. Its main sections include: research on social inequality, ethnic and racial relations, the sociology of sexes and age

groups, the sociology of labor and the economic organization, political sociology, sociology of the family, education, religion, science, medicine, mass communications, social changes and social movements.

However, the same N. Smelser in an introduction to a brief course of sociology for beginners (1988, 3d Edition) [3] keeps the traditional structure. The course contains four sections: elements of sociology (culture, social structure, socialization, social interaction, organizations, deviation and social control, settler communities and life in large cities); social inequality (stratification and classes, ethnic and racial inequality, sex roles and inequality, age and inequality); social institutions (family, education, religion, economic system, political system); society and changes (population dynamics, collective behavior and social movements, social and cultural changes).

To the question of "What is sociology?" Smelser provides the following answer: "Sociology is scientific research on society and social relations. This is based on the data or facts from the real world and endeavors to trace them, using scientific explanations" [3, p 16]. Smelser isolates two subject "zones": microsociological and macrosociological. Researchers working in the microsociology area consider that social phenomena can be understood only from the viewpoint of those ideas which people invest into their interaction with other people. They focus attention on individuals, behavior acts, motives and those ideas which people interject into interactions which, in turn, form and change society [3, p 7].

Macrosociology focuses attention on typical images (patterns) of behavior which provide a key to an understanding of society as a whole. These patterns could be called structures and they include the family, education, religion, political and economic systems. People are incorporated in the system of social structures and in a most profound manner are linked by these structures. Of chief interest to the macrosociologists is the study of relations between parts of society and how these relations change [3, p 7].

Even in the macrosociological paradigm of the subject of sociology, Smelser as the key one uses the term "behavior patterns," that is, he keeps for sociology the status of a behavioral discipline.²

In examining the sociocultural influences on a definition of the subject of sociology, we observe both historical-cultural determination and the action of the social demand, social needs presented to the sociologist. The latter can be illustrated by examples from the classic sociological literature. Thus, A. Comte by his social physics emphasized the speculative nature of the ideas of the men of the Enlightenment, assuming that an improvement in society (and this is what scientific sociology should bring about) could be achieved not by the enlightenment of minds but rather by the restructuring of the social organization and this would be based

on a study of social reality. E. Durkheim and M. Weber to a lesser degree have been bothered by the problems of social reform and they have seen the applied function of sociology primarily in aiding in the stabilization and systematizing of social life in accord with its inner nature which is steady and purposeful at its basis. This, in essence, conservative tradition, in being taken up in the structural-functional analysis of Parsons—Merton, in the 1960s has been subjected to decisive criticism by the radically inclined sociologists of Europe and America. It was precisely then that the Western sociologists turned to Marxism the influence of which in macrosociological research up to then had remained rather strong.³

In our days we can see a sort of "Americanization" of Western European sociology which to a larger degree has kept its classic sociophilosophical orientation. On the one hand, one can feel the impact of social policy and the necessity of "earning" subsidies allocated for sociological research by private organizations and the state. On the other hand, European sociology has been influenced by the far-advanced problem-oriented research conducted in the United States on the basis of which the traditional particular sociological concepts are being developed and new ones arising. Western European sociology is moving in the direction of a problem-oriented and predominantly applied development in its subject area.⁴

What is and what should be the subject of sociology as a special sector of Marxist social science in our understanding, that is, considering our cultural tradition and modern social practice as well as that level which was achieved in the development of sociological knowledge by the end of the 1980s?

What Is the Subject of Sociology?

Above we have said that the debates on the subject of sociology in our country have occurred predominantly in order to incorporate sociology into the system of Marxist social science. And primarily for establishing the links between sociological research and social philosophy of Marxism, that is, historical materialism. As a result of these debates, a so-called tri-level concept of sociology has been elaborated: historical materialism is the general sociological theory, and it sets the typical method for constructing a particular sociological theory which in turn is based upon the generalizing of social facts. This concept which played its role in the development of Soviet sociology was an unique compromise. It made it possible to establish the status of concrete sociological research but at the same time, impeded the inclusion of our science in the world process of the development of sociology.

In actuality, historical materialism is a philosophical theory of social development which in no way exhausts the scientific knowledge of society as an object but rather isolates its own particular subject in it. This subject is first of all the research on the ongoing development of human civilization on the scale of the world historical

processes. The social philosophy of Marxism focuses attention, in the first place, on the unity of the common dialectical laws for the development of the material world and asserts the primacy of material existence and the secondariness of cognition; secondly, it focuses on the inner sources of the spontaneous movement of social matter, that is, the contradiction between the development of society's productive forces and social production relations. Such a placement of accents in the social philosophy of Marxism has been explained by the fact that this philosophical paradigm has refuted metaphysics and idealism in the understanding of history.

At the same time, dialectics in no way denies the universal permanency of the forms of social ties and social interaction within which the historical process occurs. As it is a process of the development of society hence the very social forms maintains something which qualitatively distinguishes them from the natural and for this reason possess a stable definiteness. The laws of the development of social systems do not obviate and do not replace the laws of their functioning or the constant reproduction of the definite structures and relations in any social formations.⁵

The subject of sociology cannot be reduced to the subject of social philosophy. Their difference is that sociology views society in more specific categories and concepts than does social philosophy and, in addition, in concepts which are correlated against empirically verifiable facts and this is achieved by the evolving of the general sociological paradigm into the particular sociological sectors of sociology.

The basic concepts of macrosociological theory, in contrast to the philosophical categories, are not matter and consciousness but rather the social structure and social institutions, culture and social organization; not man but rather the individual as a social type and the processes of the socialization of individuals; not social relations in their essential deep base but rather the social interaction and social ties which are based upon deep social relations which cannot be encompassed directly by empirical means, as they represent a rather deep philosophical abstraction. Even more concretized are the concepts of the specific sociological theories such as the role conduct of the individual, the forms of social organization and so forth.

It is essential to restore the status of the social philosophy of Marxism as an organic component of philosophical knowledge. Social philosophy analyzes a social process in the highest level abstractions; the latter are correlated not with empirical data but rather have their own factual basis of specific scientific generalization as developed in the particular sciences dealing with society and including sociology.

Our debates on the subject of sociology have been influenced not only by ideological factors but also by the social demand, the practical social imperative. Thus, a definition of sociology arose as a science studying social

relations [7]. Here the impetus was clearly a desire to give to sociology an applied social focus which could guarantee its independence as a separate science linked with an orientation to the elaboration of a long-term social policy and social development plans. The very separating of the social sphere arose in the practice of economic and social planning.

However, the authors who isolated the concept of the "social sphere" in the definition of the subject of sociology interpreted it significantly more broadly or more "sociologically" and namely they pointed out that this is an area of research of civil society [7], the relations between groups of people holding different positions in society and differing not only in the varying participation in economic and spiritual life, income sources and level but also in the structure of personal consumption, the level of individual development, the type of social awareness and way of life [8]. In these definitions we can see a direct emergence to the indicating as the subject of sociology that which can be termed the social community.

In order to approach a definition of the subject of sociology, it is essential to find the basic, key concept of this science in the same way that in reasoning about political economy, K. Marx isolated its main category, the commodity. What acts as such a key category in our science?

Possibly it is the concept of society. No, this is too high an abstraction and which itself is the result of the wealth of definitions or rather the end point of the analysis and not its starting point. Is it a social system? Yes, the concept of a social system operates as the key sociological category in many macrosociological theories. And precisely in those where the subject of the research is the wholeness and stability of the social organism. This concept is the main one in the theory of the structural-functional analysis of society and correspondingly designates the main thing in the subject area of sociology, that is, the study of social systems, their integrality and patterns of functioning.

At the same time, the forms of social organization are also forms of the existence of the social subject, the *social communities*, and namely the social community can be viewed as the key, fundamental category of sociological analysis. The social community in the Marxist understanding is an interrelation of human individuals which is caused by the commonness of their interests due to the similarity of the conditions of existence and the activity of people comprising the given community, their material, production and other activities, the proximity of their views and beliefs as well as their subjective notions of the goals and means of activity.

The concept of a social community seems to us a key one in determining the subject of sociology because it contains the decisive quality of the self-movement and development of the social whole. This source is the clash

of interests of social subjects, classes and other sociosubject formations. In a similar degree this makes it possible to explain the state of the stability and permanency of social systems, organizations and institutions in as much as they correspond to the common interest.⁶

Being the main subject of sociological analysis, social communities encompass all the possible states and forms of the existence of human individuals in that mode of their existence which represents the social quality of man, his essence which, according to Marx, is the ensemble of social relations (the latter are manifested in the system of social relationships and the mutual exchange by activity). All the permanent forms known to us for the self-organization of the social subject are different type communities which differ in their space-time scales and the content of the interests uniting them. These are forms of family organization, settlements, socioclass and socioprofessional, sociodemographic, ethnonational and territorial, state communities and, finally, mankind as a whole realizing his interests as a unified civilization in the infinite universe.

The concept of a social community also encompasses those varieties which do not have a rigid structural organization and represent a disperse mass united by a common interest in a long or short temporal space (for example, a mass movement, the audience at a performance, a crowd...) as well as small temporary group formations.

The isolating of the concept of a "social community" as the main category and respectively the indicating of the core of the subject area of sociology as a separate science dealing with society makes it possible to successfully unite the macro- and microsociological approaches in the development of the science and takes into account the subject-active component of the social (mass processes, social interaction as a manifestation of interests in the actually observable conduct of people) and universal forms of social organization. These include: culture (a system of values, standards, rites of behavior and relationships in social communities), social institutions which ensure the stability of the social systems, the social structure as an ordering system for the social division of labor in the sphere of production and the related system of relations concerning property, power and administration, rights and duties forming the social communities of individuals, the structure of social functions and role duties in the same degree as the sociorole expectations fixed in the culture and subcultures of social communities.

The isolating of the social community as the central element in the subject area of sociology conforms best to the current social demand, to the objective social requirement of analyzing the *subject* of social changes, its interests and needs, their current state and dynamics, the community and differences, unity and opposition. To put it briefly, this puts at the center of sociological analysis the key problems in the entire system of social organization, for it is nothing more than the organization

of diverse social communities, social subjects which realize their interests in the present and over the historical future.

Precisely the difference in the interests of the social communities, primarily classes, united by the objective situation and for this reason the similarity of realized vital needs, creates an alternative of the historical processes and confronts the social unit with the choice of one or another path of further development. The economic and sociocultural situation at each given moment of the historical process is that given thing which contains the potential possibilities for change only by one method, and namely by actions of the social subject and its activeness be this spontaneous or purposeful, programmable or unprogrammable. The choice of the social subject creates a social alternative, that is, its self-organization in actions at the given historical segment of existence. Precisely social communities as the subject of the social structure, that is, alive, suffering, active or passive, inert, not aware of their identity (a community "within itself" and not "for itself") are the presently most important subject of sociological cognition.

From what has been said it follows: **Sociology is a science on the rise, development and functioning of social communities, social organizations and social processes as modes of their existence, as a science dealing with social relations as mechanisms for the interaction and relation between diverse social communities, between the individual and communities, a science on the patterns of social actions and mass conduct.**

Being a nonphilosophical science based on a generalization of social facts, sociology examines its subject on a level of macrotheoretical analysis and in this regard is closely linked to the sociophilosophical level of knowledge, that is, the dialectical materialistic understanding of the sociohistorical process.⁷ Being a diversified science, sociology in addition to a general theoretical analysis of its subject, includes the development of particular sociological theories the subject of which is the studying of the particular states and forms of existence of social communities, including: social structure, culture, social institutions and organizations, the individual and the processes of the socialization of individuals in social communities. Being a science dealing with social communities, sociology investigates mass social processes and behavior, the state and forms of social interaction and social relationships, the aggregate vital activities of people forming the social communities and at the center of which is a convergence of opposition of their interests as the driving forces of the social process.

It is time to put an end to the illusion of self-sufficiency of Soviet sociology merely because it is based on a scientific, dialectical materialistic philosophy. The development of our sociology will be successful if it is able to make up the distance behind world sociological science by assimilating all that is valuable which has been achieved over the two centuries of its existence.

As an independent area of knowledge, sociology realizes all the functions inherent to a social science: theoretical-cognitive, descriptive and prognostic, practical-changing, ideological and educational. Its main applied functions consist in an objective analysis of social reality, that is, an understanding of the profound patterns of social processes and a correct description of the phenomenology of social life, that is, providing reliable information to society on its state at a given moment as the real situation of a social subject with its particular and diverse interests, views, opinions, illusions and confusions, aspirations and hopes.

* * *

The history of the rise and development of the subject of sociology convinces one that the classic paradigm of macrotheoretical sociological knowledge traditionally inherent to European sociology, in the United States, under the impact of a sociocultural orientation inclined to pragmatism and under the impact of the direct social demand was modified into a different paradigm the essence of which was a multiplicity of particular sociological approaches to investigating society and social processes. Beginning from the 1960s, the dominant interest in American sociology shifted into the area of a comprehensive study of social problems using general sociological and particular sociological theoretical knowledge. An analogous process in the postwar years has also encompassed Western European sociology. Macrotheoretical sociology presently remains predominantly an area of university instruction than a sphere of active scholarly interest for sociologists.

This process can be explained dually. On the one hand, there is a level of internal scientific, intrinsic development of sociological theory (or theories) which makes it possible to extend the applied functions of sociology and this, in turn, conforms to the social demand and meets the modern forms of the organization and subsidizing of science in the Western nations. At the same time, there is a crisis state in modern social theory in the sense that macrotheoretical analysis conforms little or not at all with microtheoretical. General theoretical sociological knowledge which to a substantial degree is related to the sociophilosophical orientation conforms poorly to the development of the middle-level particular sociological theories. This situation which was recorded by R. Merton in 1947 at present remains pressing. World sociology is waiting for a leader who will have the courage to propose a fundamentally new paradigm which would integrate the macro- and microtheoretical approaches to studying the integralness of the social organism and social processes.

What is the future of our sociology as a separate area of Marxist social science?

I feel that the social demand and the need to renew society in the future will stimulate the applied, problem-oriented nature of the development of sociological research in our nation. At the same time, the protracted

isolation of Soviet sociology from world science and the seizing of "bourgeois" sociology as ideologically alien knowledge oblige that we construct sociological education as the assimilating of world experience in the development of macrosociological and particular sociological theories. In the research practices of academic sociology one can expect greater interest in the elaboration of the macrotheoretical and particular sociological approaches with a conscious orientation at a dialectical materialistic, sociophilosophical understanding of the general historical process.

In concluding our reflections on the subject of sociology, it must be said that the above-given definition is reasonable in the sense that it adequately answers the current state of scientific knowledge and the social demand. It would be an error to absolutize this definition or to turn it into dogma. Certainly, other approaches are possible and necessary.

Footnotes

1. Here A. Boskoff refers to Pitirim Sorokin [4, p 18] who pointed out that sociology became an independent science as it gradually became freed of reductionism or the reducing of the social to the nonsocial, that is, to physics for A. Comte, biology for H. Spenser or geography for L. Gumplowicz. Seemingly, the same applies to the microsociological theories, for example, group dynamics of G. Homans, symbolic interactionism of G. Mead and ethnomethodology of H. Garfinkel. But this is not completely the case. In the first instance we are concerned with the process of the development of sociology as a separate area of scientific knowledge and in the second, with the using of this knowledge in the development of interdisciplinary approaches.

2. The incorporation into macrosociology of the behavioral view was carried out consistently for the first time by T. Parsons who took social structures from the deindividualized and culturally determined patterns of role behavioral interaction.

3. "The ideas of Marx on social relations as being based on relations in the production sphere, on the role of social institutions and socioclass relations have constantly occupied the sociologists," wrote A. Boskoff [4, p 22].

4. In an essay on the history of French sociology, V. Carady notes the strong influence of Durkheim on all wartime sociology in France. After the war, this was replaced by the influence of German classic sociology (Weber, Pareto), Marxism and Anglo-Saxon sociopsychology and empirical sociology. The second postwar generation of French sociologists and in which the author would include M. Crosier and A. Touraine has already begun to work in the "American models" [6, p 43].

5. It was precisely for isolating this particular feature of macrosociological analysis in his lectures on sociology in 1971 that Yu.A. Levada was criticized as a supporter of functionalism.

6. Special research on social communities was undertaken for the first time (1887) by the German sociologist F. Tonnies who established two types of such communities: the traditional, preindustrial communes and a modern industrial society. As the main features of a traditional commune or community he named limited specialization in the division of labor, the supporting of the community on the basis of direct personal ties and mutual aid, the governing of these relations by simple standards of morality, the dominant influence of religious values and beliefs and the dominant institution of kinship. But in a society a type of relationship prevails based upon rational interest, formal law as well as developed specialization in the sphere of labor and other social functions while the main social institutions are large production formations, governmental institutions, political parties and similar such forms of sociofunctional organizations of an impersonal nature. In speaking about social communities, we consciously avoid the concepts of "society" and particularly "communal organization." The Russian word "community" ["obshchnost"] encompasses all varieties of social formations the members of which are linked by a common interest and are in a direct or indirect interaction.

7. We would point out that similar processes of reassessing its subject are also occurring in Marxist philosophy. In the recently published textbook "Vvedeniye v filosofiyu" [Introduction to Philosophy] (leader of author collective, I.T. Frolov) we read: "...The large diverse problem of 'world—man' (it has many distinguishing facets, such as 'subject—object,' 'material—spiritual' and others) in essence operates as a universal and can be viewed as a general formula and an abstract expression of virtually any philosophical problem. This is why it in a definite sense can be called the basic question of philosophy" [9].

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Sociology and Cultural-Aesthetic Development of Society

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[Article by Anatoliy Grigoryevich Yegorov, doctor of philosophical sciences, academician and advisor to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Our journal has published his articles "A Higher Level of Sociological Research" (No 3, 1977) and "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Modern Times" (No 3, 1983)]

[Text] M. Gorky called culture the "second nature" created by man. And this truly is the starting point in the

understanding of culture and its essence. This, at least, is the generally accepted opinion. But culture is a complex and diverse phenomenon. In distinguishing material and spiritual culture, it is correctly emphasized that it would be hard to name a sphere where this was not apparent. Moreover, it has a rich, contradiction-full history which has also left its imprint on theory. It is no accident that never-ending debates go on over the concept of "culture."

There is a multiplicity of definitions of culture which examine its essence from different sides; the main thing in it is the unity of the accumulation of knowledge and its practical application. For this reason in order to avoid ambiguity, haziness in a definition of culture, it is essential to distinguish, on the one hand, the very process of the creation of material and spiritual goods and the objective result of this creative process and, on the other, the mastery of these values and the ability to employ them in life and practice.

This naturally also relates to art which has its own specific features in the culture sphere, operating both as a distinct form of social conscience and as a special type of creative spiritual activity and a specific system of values which actively influence social attitudes and their development.

Even Kant realized that art in culture is the connecting link between "pure" and "practical" reason. But K. Marx, having reworked all the achievements of German classic aesthetics from the standpoint of materialistic dialectics, described art as an artistic-practical assimilation of the world, having brought out the main content of the problem: labor—cognition—art. Both in the genetic aspect and in the sociohistorical aspect, having disclosed the social roots of art, its social origin and role in social life, in the social struggle.

At present, when the subject of aesthetic science has been significantly broadened,¹ life has impelled us to articulate such concepts as "aesthetic culture" and "artistic culture." This is also important on the social and historical level.

Certainly it would be an error to erect a solid wall between them. Artistic culture is part of aesthetic but does not exhaust it. It is not even that the concept of "aesthetic culture" is broader in volume than "artistic culture." The situation is much more complicated.

In the first place, not all the phenomena of artistic culture far from immediately become the property of society's aesthetic culture but only in the instance when they capture the awareness of the masses and gain social dissemination and confirmation. In this sense, aesthetic culture is always mass culture characterizing the degree of its social assimilation and its determined social norm which is formed historically, in the process of social practice. And each time it is the resultant of many social forces. This would include such things as the attitude of the artist to the masses, the ideological and aesthetic development of the masses themselves and the struggle

"for" and "against" of various artistic friends in society due to class and other interests.

Secondly, artistic culture has relative independence including its own separate method, material, functions, structure in the cultural development of peoples and all mankind. The most important thing in it is artistic truth which reflects the truth of life. Moreover, the overall level of a society's aesthetic culture depends to a crucial degree upon art and upon its ideological and artistic maturity. And this is because art most fully discloses man's aesthetic attitudes toward reality, in encompassing his entire spiritual world. Also because art represents the most important sphere of the manifestation of the socioaesthetic ideal, in disclosing the future of aesthetic culture of a people or society. And because, finally, it forms and develops the very capacity for the artistic image thinking of man.

The tendency toward a merging or closer interaction of art in the process of general cultural development with other types of aesthetic activity and which always occurs according to the "laws of beauty" and develops everything "human in man" in contributing to his spiritual and emotional betterment, merely confirms this conclusion. It, this tendency, even more vividly shows the specific features of artistic culture and its most important quality, artisticness. This distinguishes art from all other phenomena of aesthetic culture and spiritual culture generally, disclosing the role of art as the generator of the aesthetic values of society and the nucleus of its aesthetic culture.

Aesthetic culture represents a complex, interrelated system of aesthetic relations and different types of aesthetic activities which differ in their structure and functions. It is determined by all sociohistorical practice. Other, narrower criteria for its comprehension and explanation are insufficient. Worse, any underestimation of the complex structure of aesthetic culture can lead and does lead to serious errors. This happens both when aesthetic culture is identified with one or another type, extending its principles and laws to the remaining elements and to aesthetic culture as a whole. And this happens when in failing to consider its multilevel nature, a direct and oversimplified link is drawn between social reality and any type of aesthetic activity. This usually ends up as vulgar sociologism [an excessively rigid sociological approach]. At the same time, the liberating of aesthetic culture and its types from meaningful elements can lead to formalism and to the reduced importance of art in the system of aesthetic culture.

The relationship between the elements of aesthetic culture and art in the general cultural process does not appear so simple. The picture becomes even more complicated if we view their relationship with science, including with aesthetic science, with philosophical thought or morality. This is particularly so in the context with economic, sociopolitical and other relations, with scientific and technical development and production. At the same time, sociological theory of art is still being

worked on passively both at the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in the other scientific institutions of the nation and higher schools. This is true both on the level of the macroenvironment (social communities such as classes, social groups, social strata, nations and mankind) and on the level of the microenvironment (the family, surroundings, specific circumstances of life and so forth). Both from the viewpoint of the impact of the artist (the individual or collective author) on society and the influence of the audience or society on the artist and the collective in which he works, on the forming of the social qualities for the leaders of artistic culture and the readers, viewers or listeners. As well from the viewpoint of the effect of art and aesthetic culture on the development of the social structure of society and in turn the structure of society on the aesthetic and artistic culture of the masses. Numerous contradictions have built up in the social development and labor of the writers, painters, filmworkers, theatrical figures, musicians, contradictions which have remained clearly outside the perusal of the sociologists.

The situation is no better in elaborating the methodological problems of the sociological theory of art, including such matters as examining the sociohistorical patterns in the development of aesthetic and artistic culture, their links with other social institutions, the social essence of aesthetic and artistic values and the process of their assimilation.

Certainly the scientific institutions and the chairs of the higher institutions of learning involved in sociology should intensify research on the social problems of artistic creativity and its role in social life. This should be done in order to contribute to the strengthening of the ties of art with the needs of the people, social practice, to uniting the Soviet people and their consolidating around the urgent problems of socialist creativity. There is no doubt that at the center of all this research under present-day conditions there should be the question of the essence of new thinking in relation to the cultural-aesthetic and artistic development of society and the peoples and on the relationship of the social and "inner" laws of artistic creativity at the current stage of socialism and considering the leading trends of world civilization.

* * *

At present, much is being written and said about the new thinking. But it is impossible to agree with everything here.

First of all, we would point out that this did not occur all of a sudden like Athena from the head of Zeus. Nor is it some new ideology. No, this is a dialectical materialistic view of the world directed at the phenomena of modern times and at their understanding in all their complexity and contradictoriness. It is the reflection and expression of the dialectics of objective laws tested out by all world historical practice. In other words, this is a concept of dialectical materialistic thinking conforming to the current stage in the development of science, culture and

sociohistorical practice. Hence, precisely this concept should provide a modern scientific methodology for an approach both to the past, to the present and to the future of society, including its cultural and aesthetic development. And this should be both from the viewpoint of general sociological theory and from the position of aesthetic science.

For these purposes, we must employ all the experience of dialectical materialistic cognition and master this. But since the theory of materialistic dialectics is elaborated by philosophy, then undoubtedly philosophical culture in aesthetic and sociology must be raised in every possible way while the philosophers and sociologists, in carrying out their tasks, cannot shun aesthetics and art if they do not wish to impoverish their science.

In truth, there still are the running debates over whether aesthetics is a philosophical science, although this question, in our view, is fundamentally clear.

As is known, aesthetic problems, including the social questions of art, have been shaped and developed historically on a basis of philosophical knowledge. At present, the subject of Marxist-Leninist philosophy cannot ignore the aesthetic relations of man with reality, the world and man, and his activities involving the subject of aesthetic in the context of the main question of philosophy. At the same time, in aesthetic it is essential to consider the experience gained by philosophy and see the struggle of materialism and idealism. At present, incidentally, this dividing into materialism and idealism at times is disputed. But this problem exists and it should be understood in a correct, Leninist manner. As is known, V.I. Lenin viewed the concept of "struggle"—and this is persuasively seen from his "Philosophical Notebooks"—not only as the reciprocal negation of opposing tendencies. He also brought out their reciprocal dependence, their relationship and interaction from the viewpoint of the accretion of objective, reliable knowledge. V.I. Lenin viewed these characteristics as extremal abstractions which require concrete historical analysis and in no way cover all other categories such as "progressive" and "reactionary," "democracy," "humanism" and so forth. This was particularly noticeable when the issue was raised of certain persons and schools, their place and role in the cultural development of mankind. Moreover, V.I. Lenin, in examining the movement toward truth, always combined and, equally importantly, distinguished the sociopolitical, gnoseological and aesthetic approaches to this problem. He saw the complex dialectical relationship of these approaches. And, I feel, it is useful to remember this so that in the light of the new thinking we can free the Leninist concept of extraneous additions such as schematicism, Shulyatkovism [extreme historical materialism] and vulgar sociology which found currency in our country in the 1920s and 1930s. Particularly as the reoccurrences of these views are encountered at present as well as attempts to "amnesty" an idealistic philosophy.

Finally, even now there are echoes of the view according to which the history of art is a struggle between realism and antirealism. Or in another version: realism and romanticism. It is not difficult to understand that this is a speculative concept formed by analogy with the struggle between materialism and idealism in philosophy. But it fails to consider that idealists in philosophy can also favor realism in art as was decisively done, for example, by Hegel. The main thing here is that the given concept identifies philosophy and artistic culture, science and the artistic assimilation of reality, the world view of the artist and his creative method, while ignoring the specific features of artistic creativity, the diversity of forms and artistic schools, currents in art, and distorts the ideological, philosophical and sociological bases of aesthetics.

It is impossible to agree with those who reduce a world view ["mirovozzreniye"; "Weltanschauung"] completely to philosophy. It also includes socioeconomic, moral and other ideas and data obtained from an artistic-figurative cognition of reality as well as a result of the direct generalizing of the facts of reality. We judge the social conscience of an age and each historical period not only from the philosophy but also from works of art and other forms. In other words, the world view of a man represents the entire aggregate of his views of the world and a generalized understanding of reality. In this system, far from everything is always harmonious. For example, the world view of a Balsac or Tolstoy was contradictory; in their creativity genius and realism gained an upper hand over philosophical and sociopolitical prejudices. This convincingly shows that in bringing out the relationship of philosophy and sociology with art, one must not forget the specific features of artistic creativity, put an equals sign between philosophy and art or identify sociology and art. Although this truth now is of a fundamental nature, it remains a fact that a world view always has a philosophical basis even if it is not free of contradictions and is not always fully recognized by man. Moreover, sociopolitical and philosophical views are the core of the world view of all people. And in any class society.

Briefly speaking, this is how things stand with the philosophical basis of the new thinking in aesthetics, including the social philosophy of artistic creativity.

The new thinking, however, can be recognized not only in its general philosophical principles, although their role in cognition and in social practice is enormous. At present, we can speak with every right about new thinking in ecology, in international policy, in nonlinear physical thinking related to investigating the physical aspects of the self-organization of matter. Just as accurately it is possible to speak about the new thinking in terms of the subject of aesthetic and which in no way is lost in philosophy and sociology and can be understood considering the concepts inherent to it. Naturally, these cannot be obtained by the mechanical shifting of philosophical and sociological categories into aesthetics. They are the result, the conclusion from the history of the

scientific and artistic cognition of reality and of all practical spiritual activity of humans, from the history of world culture.

Characteristically, even starting with antiquity, thinkers, in investigating art, not merely deepened their philosophical and sociological views. Their aesthetic systems, in enriching philosophy and sociology, also disclosed the processes of the artistic development of peoples and the aesthetic attitudes of humans to reality. And, in leafing through these pages of history, we can see that as philosophy, social knowledge and aesthetic systems developed, in them one can trace more and more clearly the subject of aesthetics; the categories inherent to it and distinct from philosophy and sociology with the methodological sense of the aesthetic categories and principles standing out, particularly beginning with German classic philosophy.

Clearly outside a sociophilosophical approach it is impossible to define scientifically and understand the methodological importance of Marxist-Leninist aesthetic, the patterns in tradition and innovation of the cultural and artistic process, the interaction of national artistic cultures in the flow of world development, the relationship of collective, professional and independent creativity in various stages as well as other key problems. This is obvious. For this reason, in the given instance without going into the concrete gnoseological and social problems, I will voice just two considerations. The first is that in the history of cultural development of greatest interest are the stages when certain ideological-aesthetic systems were replaced by others which marked the gradual formation of a new quality and new cycles in the cultural movement of peoples and indeed all mankind. The second consideration. Qualitative changes and revolutionary periods in social conscience and culture also existed before Marxism (for example, in the 5th Century BC in Ancient Greece and in the stormy era in the life of the peoples of Europe and the East and which G. Vasari in terms of Europe was the first to call the Renaissance). However, Marxism marked a particular revolutionary change: both in its genesis, in its content, the depth of the changes and in terms of its consequences. The essence of this revolutionary change has been thoroughly examined. But the ideological and aesthetic system of views of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the heritage left by Plekhanov, Mehring, Lafargue and their followers, including the Marxist-Leninists of present times, must be studied more thoroughly. Here there are still many "blank spots" and it is easy to see this studying the development of Marxist-Leninist thought in our nation after October.

Undoubtedly, the cult of Stalin caused enormous harm to the development of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics in endeavoring to subordinate art to certain nonaesthetic state views, without making any great distinction between legal and aesthetic standards. Although the principles of Marxism-Leninism were not at fault here, the impact of such a "statist aesthetics," if it can be so put, could not help but leave its impact. At present, we must make a major effort to remove from our way the

clumps of oversimplified, arbitrary and dogmatic notions—both in theory and in practice. This process of freeing aesthetic science in all its aspects from dogmatic notions and any forms of a one-sided and distorted depiction of real processes shows not a weakening but rather a strengthening of the methodological principles of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics. This aesthetics has strong traditions and deep roots in life. This is well known also overseas, even by people who are far removed from Marxism. It has long been shown that the dialectical materialistic methodology of aesthetic knowledge reinforces the experience of world historical aesthetic practice and because of this its principles are also the starting points in a scientific interpretation of aesthetic and artistic phenomena and a theoretical basis for effective activities in accord with them.

However, this is not the entire matter. At present, in light of the new thinking, there should be not only the application of the principles of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics (in their unity and integralness) for understanding new historical experience but also their further development and enrichment. In other words, it should be a matter of the present level of methodology of aesthetic knowledge.

In line with this, let us turn to the work by V.I. Lenin "Party Organization and Party Literature" written on the eve of the 1905 Revolution. At present, it has again become a subject of close attention by sociologists, philosophers and aesthetics. What is the point here? That the major questions raised in this work dealing with cultural-aesthetic and artistic development—on the responsibility of the artist to the people and the freedom of his creativity, on the creative individuality and ideological focus of talent, on world view and artisticness and so forth—require an analysis from the standpoint of modern social practice, including aesthetic. It is essential to decide what in it relates to the conditions of the first revolution in Russia and to prerevolutionary Russian reality generally. What in it is related to bourgeois society and to the struggle of antagonistic class forces in it? What is needed for an analysis in accord with the demands of a socialist society? In particular, under the conditions of perestroika and glasnost, important significance is assumed by such questions, for example: what are the objective criteria of truth and confusion, what are the ways for combating bureaucracy as well as careerism and anarchism in the artistic milieu, as Lenin wrote about at one time. Of course, many questions posed by Lenin on the eve of the 1905 Revolution also require an explanation from the standpoint of the present stage of world history, from the standpoint of common human progress and the development patterns of world civilization, and how this fits the new thinking.

It must be considered that at present in the USSR, the tie of the individual and the class to which he belonged is manifested differently than, for instance, during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, when the class struggle operated as the driving force in Soviet society. In the various stages of our life, the balance of

the class and the national, the class and the common human has varied. At present, class distinctions in our nation are gradually being obliterated. But as long as our society has classes and class differences, the principle of communist party loyalty will maintain its vital force. And this means, above all, a consistently carried out objectivity of cognition. Objective truth, Lenin pointed out, is the content of human cognition which does not depend upon man, classes or even mankind. And hence, there should be neither subjectivism or fatalism in the understanding of communist ideological loyalty. Here as everywhere else there must be concrete historical analysis. Both when party loyalty is viewed as a common ideological principle. And when its specific features are isolated in the various spheres of social life and culture, considering the common human importance of its values and their humanistic sense.

* * *

The new thinking encompasses both science and artistic consciousness. Proceeding from this, in aesthetic work at the present stage, in our view, more attention must be paid to the questions related to the cultural and historical dynamics of the artistic image and to studying how, as the artistic understanding of the world has broadened and deepened, the spiritual life of the peoples and all mankind has been evermore deeply disclosed in art.

Although scientific and artistic image thinking have a common, single gnoseological nature, their specific features cannot be doubted. Consequently, it is essential to distinguish the method of scientific cognition, on the one hand, and artistic creativity and art, on the other. This is also important within the context of aesthetic theory and in the flow of art and its historical development.

Under present-day conditions, scientific aesthetic cognition has entered, it can be said, into a new zone. As is known, for a long time it moved, in generalizing facts, from theory to subject predominantly by deductive means. Presently, in employing the procedures and methods taken from sociology, cybernetics, mathematics, information science and so forth, it relies more and more widely on the experiment in its modern forms. And not only as a basis of theoretical generalization but also as a means for verifying the deductive notions, the forecast suppositions. In truth, this experience is still not very great but we cannot help but consider it. In particular, because scientific-theoretical forms of aesthetic cognition have different stages of generalization. For example, in semiotics they employ scientific abstractions expressed in the form of symbols, concepts, categories and abstractions of such a high level of theoretical generalization that they cannot be derived directly from artistic practice. For this reason, the artists, in explaining the process of their creativity, are usually very far removed from the semiotic approach. Moreover, although the theoretical value of the semiotic approach is clear in many aspects, artists have turned away from it. And precisely because semiotics provides abstractions in which the empirical data are fixed indirectly and before

using them it is essential to ascertain the sense of the expressions inherent to it and understand the content of the phenomena with the aid of that formalization which is inherent also to semiotics. This is approximately the same as notation in music.

At present, in aesthetics more than at any time before, importance is being assumed by ways and methods and new approaches of research on objective patterns as well as the elaborating of the philosophical and social bases of aesthetic and artistic culture. This may well be the task of tasks, for here lies the key to solving all problems—both fundamental and applied.

In all sciences, fundamental research is not a quantitative but rather a qualitative characteristic. This is aimed at discoveries, new knowledge, and its establishes the base for subsequent research and leads, directly or indirectly, to major revolutionary changes in practice. In the sphere of aesthetics, this research brings out the general aesthetic patterns and theoretical principles stemming from them. These problems in their aggregate at one time were termed—and not without reason—the philosophy of culture. It also included the social philosophy of art.

In our times, the methodology of aesthetics, however, does not end with the philosophy of culture. The methodology of aesthetics has a multilevel character rising on a sound dialectical-materialistic foundation. This dialectical-materialistic system encompasses research on general aesthetic patterns and special disciplines which study various spheres of aesthetic culture in its general structure from the viewpoint of objective methods and goals of research as well as the applied and empirical level. Aesthetic science more and more widely is employing concrete social research as applied to artistic creativity and its development. This is helping to more strongly link aesthetic theory with the study of urgent problems of life and social practice, bringing theory to the taking of specific decisions in the sphere of social administration. Unfortunately, a dialectical-materialistic methodology of applied research up to now has been little worked out. And where a vacuum is formed, it is immediately filled by whatever happens along. At present, when aesthetics is becoming an evermore precise science, one cannot help but see those negative aspects which have accompanied its development such as the attempts to turn various methodological procedures, particularly those taken from natural science and engineering, into a certain methodology and disregard the limits of the use of each of them and the specific features of artistic, aesthetic phenomena. Consequently, considering the new conditions we must determine the place and functions of aesthetics in the system of new, modern thinking, the history and logic of its development and the relationship with other sciences. We must clearly ascertain where is the method and where are the procedures of research and distinguish the method of science and the method in art, in artistic creativity.

In line with this last circumstance, let us recall that even in the 1930s, after the vulgar RAPP [Russian Association of Proletarian Writers] views had been repudiated and which had identified materialistic dialectics and the creative method in art, the literary and art critics were seriously concerned with the problem of aesthetic science and achieved noticeable successes in solving it. But, considering present-day historical and artistic experience, it is essential to move farther in investigation how the new thinking is expressed in individual styles, in stylistic schools in the course of universal artistic development and what characterizes the realism of socialist art and its creative method which develops through artistic styles expressing in one way or another the gnoseological essence of the given type of art. These diverse stylistic features disclose a new, many-sided understanding of reality with a pile of shadings of an approach to it. These have been enticingly formed up and sometimes are formed into a system of methods growing out of each such shading. In actuality, style cannot absorb method, for each time it discloses the essence of the method in some definition and not as a whole. Considering all of this, by collective efforts we must work out in the spirit of the new thinking an integral theory of socialist art, having provided a concrete historical approach to an understanding of socialist artistic culture as a new ideological and artistic system as well as all the elements comprising it. Here there is a major role also for sociological science.

Incidentally, quite recently there were extensive debates over the method of socialist realism. Here it is essential to have a serious critical study with a constructive, creative approach to resolving the problems.

It is no secret that when one speaks of socialist realism, one usually recalls bureaucratic domination in art and the excommunication of the artists. All of this actually did happen. And it was frequently done under the flag of socialist realism, supposedly for the sake of protecting its purity. However, was this the fault of the principles of socialist realist art as an artistic method? It was rather the matter of the unprincipled nature of those who acted in such a manner, and not the fault of the method, not the artistic gnoseology and not the principles which reinforce it. Moreover, it is impossible to affirm or eliminate the method of socialist realism by voting or decrees even on the part of the most authoritative organizations. What is needed is not emotional enthusiasm but rather a strict scientific analysis of the facts. Otherwise, all the inspired words are caught suspended in the air. Society expects not emotions from science but rather sound conclusions and recommendations.

Certainly it is not hard to find a philological or even a formallogical way out of the situation. Instead of "the art of socialist realism," one might say: "realistic art affirming the socialist socioaesthetic ideal." Or: "realistic art aimed at affirming and reinforcing socialism." It is easy to offer other similar definitions for choice. But all of them do not broaden and do not deepen the cognitive limits of analyzing the phenomena of art.

It must be pointed out with regret that the debates which occurred recently did not provide a major increase in knowledge. Nor were they free of one-sidedness. It is an ordinary thing that in the course of these debates there were extremes and mutually exclusive judgments. Judging from everything, it is difficult to get by without this. The one-sidedness was that the artistic development of the Soviet people and world socialist artistic culture was conceived of as a rectilinear movement which did not know any hesitations, failures or "take-back impulses" or as a complete chain of errors and flaws which obviated the greatness and the achievements of socialist culture, which belittle or devalue socialist values in the artistic development of mankind.

The one-sidedness, in our view, consisted in the fact that in the debates everything turned around terminology and concepts. In principle one cannot argue against such an approach to things. No science is possible without concepts. Moreover, the concepts disclose the measure of the theoretical cognition of the phenomena and need systematic clarification and concretization so that they not be turned into a dogma, as happened in the past. All the same, the main thing is not in concepts. The essence is that behind the concept of the "method of socialist realism" stand weighty and numerous facts, artistic values. They exist independently of the concepts which disclose them. The concept can be accurate and inaccurate, complete and incomplete. And before turning to them, one must ahead of time recognize or not recognize the artistic phenomena, assess their essence and disclose their new quality, their significance and ideological-aesthetic value. We must determine how they differ in their essence, in their unity from the previous periods. If nothing new occurred in art after October 1917, then there is no problem. If, on the contrary, after October 1917 a truly innovative art arose and grew stronger over time, an art which marked a new age in the artistic development of mankind, then it is essential to understand and explain its newness and role in world historical culture, in social life. Everything else is derivative. In history, in aesthetic science and in culture there is always practice initially and then theory; in the given instance, there is the theory which discloses the principles of socialist realistic art, its creative method, that is, the objective laws of this art, this artistic image understanding of reality and the principles which express these laws. Certainly an artist may not know the definition "socialist realism" but in his practice he may follow its principles. For example, the novel by M. Gorky entitled "Mother" is a socialist realist novel but appeared long before this term arose. In precisely the same manner many other artists, independently of one another, blazed a trail to this art. For instance, Ivan Franko, Lesya Ukrainka and Mikhail Kotsyubinskiy in the Ukraine, Yanka Kupala and Yakub Kolos in Belorussia, Jan Raynis and Andrey Upit in Latvia. These are generally known facts which point to the patterns in the genesis of our socialist realistic art. And the powerful historical-artistic process represented by the further creativity of many outstanding figures in artistic culture in our nation

and abroad has an objective nature. Naturally, it also requires objective research particularly on its capabilities and trends and diverse searches considering the national traditions and forms.

If one turns to the term "method of socialist realism" as produced by collective efforts in the 1930s, it is not difficult to show that it cannot be termed successful as, incidentally, is the case with many other terms in the theory and history of art. All the same, one cannot help but recognize that realism of the recognized prospects of socialist development and which affirms socialist principles of life in art is qualitatively a new stage in the history of art.

It is true, they say, that mediocre if not bad and unartistic creations can be laid at the door of socialist realism. That is valid. In art, there have always existed and do exist spotty artistic achievements. Along with classic works there is also the "froth" in the form of shabby creations. But what does this prove? Merely that method is no substitute for talent. Conversely, talents are needed for bringing out the objective creative capabilities of the method. Method is no substitute for the honor or dignity of the individual. At times, opportunists for whom nothing is sacred have become involved in art, and not only in art. But the lack of principle dies out while the principles remain. Finally, it is essential to bear in mind that the method has never been fully disclosed in any one work. Many have written about this. In particular, Brecht wrote superbly about this. Let us add that no stage in the development of socialist realistic art—either the most stormy or most vivid—can serve as a criterion of this. All the more, as given once and for all. At the same time, the high road for the ongoing development of Soviet art, in terms of its objective essence, has led to the democratization of society. And it is a matter of all our great socialist culture and not merely the works of critical bombast, as is sometimes thought, although this aspect must be considered. In particular, such works appeared widely in our country after the 20th Party Congress and played a marked purifying role in criticizing the cult of Stalin and the phenomena which accompanied it.

There is no denying it that the theory of socialist realistic art in the past was frequently fettered by dogmatic standards and schemes which were raised to the absolute. Thus, at one time there appeared "ideal heroes" and "heroes with a wormhole" as the aesthetic standard in literature. Even now, in following this method, some nihilistically reject the positive principle in art, preaching "antiheroes," while others, on the contrary, dispute the critical principle although both are a departure from a true depiction of reality.

The gnoseology of aesthetic errors is very complex, whimsical and diverse, but here it is perfectly clear that, in the first place, the rejecting of incorrect or one-sided notions is an indication not of weakness but rather of the theoretical maturation. It marks not a weakening of principles or the rejection of them but rather their

strengthening. Secondly, no variability of notions, the concretization and, so to speak, the pulsation of concepts have not shaken what in the process of the forward movement of socialist realistic art has always been and is something common and permanent. This is the objective, fundamental bases of art and its laws which are uniquely manifested in the creativity of different artists, in different periods, in the various types of art and its styles. And probably it is essential to study these laws and these principles irrespective of how we relate to the concept of "socialist realism." And these must be studied in all their aesthetic diversity on the common human, common-Union, national-regional and individual levels. These laws must also be studied in action and this means to study the "self-movement," the self-development of art in light of the socialist socioaesthetic ideal and how it, this ideal, each time has been tested out by the truth of life in the flow of sociohistorical reality, and how it affects both the artist, the audience and the masses.

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The new thinking in the sphere of aesthetics is shaped not only by the works of artistic literature, music, painting and other types of art, although they are of primary significance in the ideological and aesthetic education of the masses and the individual. All life, all relations in which man is involved affect his consciousness. As is known, socialist consciousness is formed directly by socialist production relations. At the same time, in a discussion of the cultural and aesthetic development of society, this everyday aesthetic awareness of the masses is quite often not taken into account. At best, they limit themselves to an examination of how art and the mass information media are affecting the consciousness of people, but how the everyday aesthetic awareness of the masses in turn influences the artists—all of this is left in the shadow, although it is asserted that the people are the decisive force of the historical process. This is also a shortcoming of the concrete social research in the sphere of aesthetics.

In the given instance, we will not take up the questions of what everyday aesthetic consciousness is, what are the contradictions in its development, what is the ratio here between empirical knowledge and experience, the influence of scientific ideas, or how the transition occurs from psychology to ideology, to the aesthetic ideal. We would merely point out that at times everyday aesthetic awareness is distinguished from scientific and artist abstractions by using the principle of the validity of reflecting reality. Such a position, in our view, cannot be accepted. The problem is that man reflects reality as it is. And hence, it is invalid to oppose everyday awareness and a Marxist-Leninist world view as independent of one another, for dialectical materialistic thinking does not run contrary to what people are convinced of in practice. At the same time, it is well known that sensory perceptions directly, if they are not unified by an iron logic of the idea, can lead one astray and entangle one in the chaos of events and impressions. This applies both to the artist and to the subject who understands his works.

With the sole difference that the artist, in transferring the "chaos of life" into the world of his feelings and ideas, actively and purposefully affects the aesthetic awareness of other people as well. Often it is precisely on this ground that his works enter into the shared experiences of the reader, the viewer or the listener, for the "chaos of life" also touches their souls. Usually such a contact occurs when a progressive socioaesthetic ideal which links the consciousness of the artist and the perceiving subject, the aesthetic awareness of one or another with the patterns of social life is obscured.

We, judging from everything, have still not emerged from such a situation. The socialist, let alone the communist ideal in our art, has grown dull. Possibly because the harsh contradictions of life impede it from being properly manifested. Possibly because the ideal and idealization in art have often been confused. In any event, this sociopsychological situation has led to a weakening of the socioaesthetic guidelines both in life and in the sphere of artistic culture. In art, this is felt, in the first place, in the fact that the aesthetic needs of people are being narrowed (for example, theater attendance is declining). Secondly in the fact that current and not long-range aesthetic interests have moved to the forefront. Thirdly in the fact that people, particularly the young have gravitated not so much to high art which, of course, is continuing to develop, as to amusement, and to works with a psychophysiological set, to works which touch predominantly on the biological structure of the individual. In particular, concrete social research shows that television should assume a good deal of the blame for this. According to the data of polls, it takes up more than 80 percent of the free time of our nation's population. At the same time, TV music programs are oversaturated with the works of rock groups and these cause obvious harm to the moral and ideological-aesthetic education of the younger generation. Certainly, in rock music there are composers who are oriented not at the base instincts but rather at the high aspirations and feelings of people and they more widely use folklore in their creativity. There are also groups which considering their specific features endeavor to shape the patriotic awareness of the youth, although it is not easy to do this in the forms of rock and pop music. But characteristically these works precisely are not given great support by the mass information media and cultural institutions as they do not keep in the Procrustean bed of "fashion." Consequently, it is time to give some serious thought to the ideological and aesthetic education of the youth to whom the future of the nation belongs and to think out the ways for emerging from the "chaos of thought and feeling" in which it frequently is. V.I. Lenin in a conversation with C. Zetkin said: "...We are communists. We should not stand there with our hands folded and let chaos develop wherever you want. We should direct this process on a completely planned basis and shape its results." At present, the main thing, in my view, lies in carrying out these words of Lenin. Both in the economy and in sociopolitical life. Of course, also in the sphere of

cultural development and certainly on the most democratic basis in the interests of man, considering the "socialist pluralism," as one now has come to say.

Incidentally, ordinarily in discussing socialist pluralism, one has in mind a multiplicity of judgments and a respective attitude toward them. But this is only a part of the question. The main thing is that pluralism also exists in reality itself, in history, where one encounters different variations of social processes, different friends of social development. For example, there is pluralism in the area of aesthetic relations, a diversity of artistic tastes, aesthetic notions, a multiplicity of historical paths and forms of artistic development.

The experience of socialist art indicates that its progressive development occurs not by a path of simplification or the standardizing of national artistic cultures but rather by the path of their greater complexity and diversity. Not to see this means to fall into hopeless schematicism. At the same time, the pluralism of socio-economic and cultural-economic development can be correctly understood only on the basis of objective patterns, taking into account the general in the dynamics of these diverse, motley and unique phenomena. Or, as is said, in considering the unity in diversity. Otherwise, we can be caught by a serious danger of absolute relativism, when the moment of relativity which is actually present in cognition becomes inflated and is turned into a certain system, and nothing remains from the firm objective criteria in assessing aesthetic, artistic phenomena. Everything becomes indefinite and shakey. On the other hand, it is essential to draw attention to the alternative approach in understanding historical phenomena, including the ways, forms and possibilities of cultural and aesthetic development. For now there has been little concern for this in the sphere of aesthetic science, in philosophy and in sociology. And this is very important be this a culture of an individually taken people or common human artistic progress. The ideological and artistic quality of works having common human importance depends at least upon three interrelated aspects. In the first place, upon to what degree the art of a given people is involved in the world artistic process, what place it holds in the forward movement of mankind at the given time. Secondly, it depends upon the talent of the artist, his world view and artistic maturity, his ability to achieve the essence of the era and its leading trends. Thirdly, upon the artistic form which, in expressing the truth of life, reinforces the personal and social experience of the artist and raises him to the height of typical artistic generalization. Here the heart of the matter is not in the subject, not in the scope of what is depicted, but rather in the profundity of those relations in which character and events act with a reality, disclosing in the work the link of the given people and their life with the world historical age. And it is not in the structure of the artistic image. Thus, the symbol in art is always more generally human in perception but far from always so in terms of its ideological and artistic importance. It is essential to distinguish these two interrelated aspects.

Naturally, the works of different types and genres require a differentiated approach. But cultural values which conform to common human standards in their dialectical development are those works which are national in their affiliation and which most profoundly disclose the historical truth of their times and thereby, in expressing an international content, emerge on the broad stage of world historical practice and have permanent significance. And although the notions and the assessments of artistic works can alter over the passage of time, it remains a fact that new generations in their spiritual development rely on the achievements of aesthetic culture, the common human values of previous ages and they creatively assimilate this culture and enrich it under new historical conditions.

The artistic development of mankind is ongoing. And certainly a common human principle does also exist in the art of previous ages. However, under present-day conditions—and this is clearly shown by the new thinking—the unity of the humankind and its general interests emerges in the forefront. Here, as is known, for socialism the class and the common human merge. Socialism in its true essence acts as the carrier of truly human morality, the higher common human values of culture and as a consistent fighter for peace and common human progress.

Generally speaking, the “common human” and the “class” must not be put into opposition as two metaphysical principles with, supposedly, the “common human” at one pole and the “class” at the other. It is essential to see their dialectical relationship, the inner unity and complex transitions and contradictions under the conditions of modern movement, of the diverse flow of both life and art. The values of spiritual culture, in possessing a class content, do not exclude common human aspirations expressing the commonness of interests of all classes, social groups and peoples in preserving and maintaining social life, in protecting the humankind and in achieving common human progress in the world.

In order to understand the patterns of art and its “spontaneous movement” under the conditions of diverse social reality and in the process of forward development, it is essential to examine artistic culture in a greater segment, both spatial and temporal. We feel that the time has already come to get rid of the prejudice that art, as a special system of artistic elements which are internally interconnected, exists supposedly only since the time of capitalism, when there was a separation of mental labor from physical. The composition of these elements and their structure in the course of history have changed, but the tendency toward their integration and differentiation, in judging from everything, is a common pattern, if one looks at things in an unprejudiced manner. Even more obvious on the basis of extensive research is the fact that in the history of artistic culture, there are phenomena and values which are similar, close in their character and type and it is impossible to explain these by the simple influence of one on another. Hence, the necessity of an extensive comparative historical

study of the phenomena of art. For now we cannot speak about any major successes in this regard.

Unconditionally, it is essential to distinguish the kinship, tribal, cultural-aesthetic ties and also these ties within the context of nationalities, nations and mankind. It is equally necessary to distinguish the cultural and aesthetic ties within a single people and the broader ties between peoples. We must consider that in modern times a sphere of intensive cultural exchange has formed on a worldwide scale. We must also realize that the sphere of the spread and action of aesthetic values under present-day conditions is becoming ever-wider and deeper. And this is happening under the impact of the scientific-technical revolution and those enormous social changes which are occurring in the world. This poses in a new light the question of the relationship of national artistic cultures under present-day conditions; the problem of common human values also evidences new facets.

There is no doubt that the picture of world artistic culture at present is much more diverse and vivid in our awareness than before. Black and white, of course, still exist. But the palette is not limited to them. Moreover, if one considers the multiplicity of their shades which also cannot help but be taken into account. Common human values are created not only by the artists of socialist realist art in our nation, not only by prominent artists in other nations of socialism but also in the capitalist nations and the liberated states.

At one time, there were persons both in our nation and in the other socialist countries who said: “If you are not with us, you are against us.” This was an error, a sectarian position. It did not take into account the artists who are en route, in the midst of search, even at the crossroads. Nor that aesthetic awareness often lags behind the political. Nor that political awareness of many artists in the capitalist nations is not free of petty bourgeois illusions and prejudices. Far from all realists in art are democrats and not all democrat artists are realists. There are persons absorbed in their obscurantism and they conduct an aggressive offensive against reason, realism and humanism, against socialist culture and socialist convictions. At the same time, the interest in the art of socialist countries is growing also there. The artists, as is said, of critical realism actively interact with realists representing socialist art. Naturally, we must more profoundly study the state of art and aesthetic thinking overseas.

In my view, we still do not fully value the fact that world culture is an integral reality having its own laws and that one of these is the internationalization of spiritual life. As Lenin foresaw, this internationalization begins under capitalism but it in no way ends here. At the same time, we also must not ignore that socialist culture is a separate part of world civilization, although recently this has been forgotten at times. It has its own objective laws, its principles and its own logic of development in the system of worldwide ties and worldwide relations. And

we, in studying world aesthetic experience from the stance of the new thinking, must analyze all of this profoundly, avoiding, on the one hand, sectarianism and, on the other, omnivorousness. At the same time, the point has been reached where at times they speak about certain world standards which supposedly should exist in art. While standards are a necessary thing in trade or machine building, they are alien to true art.

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Research on aesthetic thought and artistic creativity in the context of world culture is not a new problem. In particular, even the cultural historical school has endeavored to view artistic phenomena in line with the life of society and historical facts. And this is both in the West and in Russia. The rich factual data assembled by the representatives of this school can be widely employed now. But, of course, we have moved far away from these and other concepts of the past. We are armed with the dialectical materialist historical approach. This provides an opportunity objectively and on a historically concrete basis to view the cultural and aesthetic development of all peoples and the history of artistic thought in all its currents, all contradictions, including modern times. And here lies the great force of Marxist-Leninist science. In drawing on worldwide aesthetic experience, it enriches its own methodological arsenal on this basis and provides a bold and unceasing scientific search in a spirit of the new thinking, in successfully solving the urgent problems of social existence and consciousness and culture.

There is no doubt that the socialist theory of artistic culture needs a more profound elaboration. The social problems in the cultural and aesthetic development of the Soviet people and all mankind urgently require that sociologists be constantly involved with these. Of course, aesthetic questions at times do fall into the perusal of various areas of sociological knowledge but this occurs haphazardly and not systematically. The main misfortune is that this research, in examining different aspects of the aesthetic relations of man and reality are little interconnected; as a rule, the research has not emerged as a general sociological theory of aesthetic and artistic creativity. It is restricted quite often to individual, particular observations. At the same time, it is impossible to disclose the historical trends in the development of aesthetic and artistic culture in all its depth and complexity without the participation of sociological science.

Proceeding from this, it is high time to thoroughly think out the organizational forms for such research in the corresponding scientific institutions as well as the method of conducting it, in encompassing various aspects of sociological theory of cultural and aesthetic activity. And this must be done so as to enrich socialist culture with all the achievements of world civilization, in actively influencing the course of world historical development.

This is an imperative of our times.

Footnote

1. The subject of aesthetics has long gone beyond the limits of art. The problem of man who has been and remains the main goal and carrier of aesthetic relations under present-day conditions is assuming a new, deeper content. Here also are both the ideological and aesthetic education of the masses, and the development of aesthetic stimuli in science, in engineer-design and any other activity. Here also is labor aesthetics which contributes to the organization of production, to improving product quality and to studying the spiritual and aesthetic demands of people. Here also are the aesthetic problems of the environment, the aesthetic saturating of working and free time. Here also are scientific prediction, the forecasting of spiritual and emotional life in society and much else. COPYRIGHT: Otdeleniye filosofii i prava Akademii nauk SSSR 1990

DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOCIAL LIFE

The Turning Point

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[Text] A New Reality

The elections which were held for the USSR people's deputies and which have been one of the turning points in perestroyka broke the spiritual torpor of the people and caused a number of local political earthquakes, when the fall of many local party leaders became clear once and for all. This included those who had provided maximum safety for themselves, using all the rights and nonrights for running in proud isolation. And although there are significantly more communists among the people's representatives than before, not a single party functionary got through to the first Soviet parliament from Moscow. An analogous situation has arisen in Leningrad, Kiev and other major cities.

Some have been stunned by this, others have been pleased, while still others feel bitter. With all the possible interpretations, the main result of the elections is clear: active support by the people for the policy of renewing society and an attempt to carry this out by our own forces, and mistrust for that portion of the leading party and soviet cadres which in word favors changes but in deed endeavors to stop them.

In other words, the election campaign and the elections themselves demonstrated the lag of many party committees behind the urgent demands of life, and behind the democratic processes developing in society. As it was put at the April (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee by M.S. Gorbachev, they "have ended up in the position of the commander whose regiment or division has gone into the offensive, but he is still in the trench, he slips down into it and does not find a foothold..." [1].

The data of an All-Union Worker Poll conducted in 1989 by the Academy of Social Sciences Under the CPSU Central Committee show that over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the respondents expressed doubt as to the party's ability to restructure itself and effectively carry out its vanguard role, while 50 percent viewed the authority of the communists as low; only 4 percent felt that it was high [2].

The elections as well as the debates which developed at the Congress of People's Deputies raised sharp and complex questions of restoring the trust of the people in the party and an attitude toward it as a real and not a nominal leading force under the conditions of the rapid politization of the masses, their transition to aware actions under the conditions of the shaping of the new mechanisms of social self-regulation and the rise and functioning of numerous nontraditional social organizations.

Unfortunately, far from all in the party leadership is aware that the period of political hibernation is over. Otherwise, highly placed candidates who did not become deputies would not have attacked the press, accusing it of all the deadly sins and they would not have groused about the "orgy of democracy" but would have conducted an interested conversation about the deep causes impelling perestroika and the typical errors, mistakes and failings of the party nomenklatura as a consequence of which there is the failure to master the real situation on the spot (often even the absence of reliable information) and an extended pause in solving acute economic, ecological and social problems.

An objective analysis points to a range of causes for the arising situation. These include the struggle within the party and the repressions of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s which sharply reduced the intellectual and democratic potential of the party; voluntarism and flagrant incompetence in solving basic economic problems; the monopoly of power which inevitably led to its putrefaction and to infecting with protectionism and corruption; the gap between word and deed; the ideologization of all spheres of life and so forth.

It is also possible to name the basic latent factor which brought about the designated causes: the tradition of servility, the "acceptance" of all sorts of misfortunes and dominance and of a type of authoritarian leader diverse in form and rank but united in essence and who is consciously and effectively shaped by any command-administrative system for its own needs. A leader of an enterprise and organization, science and culture, soviet

and party, often an antiintellectual, rigid and implacable in achieving the set goals, dogmatic, impatient with dissent and the freedom of the individual in all its manifestations and ready to pay the highest price (including human life) for maintaining his political and ideological comfort.

At present, it is not enough to merely state the historical responsibility of the authoritarian type of leaders for the mass repressions, the collapse of the economy, the plundered nature and the spiritual and moral impoverishment of the people. The time has come to disclose the sources of their formation and reproduction. We must have a critical analysis of the Stalin-Brezhnev system for recruiting political and economic cadres, a critical view of the underlying fetishes of this system as well as an elucidation of how, at what stages the mechanism for the promoting of leaders is turned into a mechanism of their degeneration.

This is all the more essential as the decisions of the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which pointed to major shortcomings in cadre policy and set the ways for renewing it on truly democratic bases have been largely stalled.

As a result, the party apparatus has come to be associated in mass consciousness with the main brake on perestroika. Almost $\frac{2}{3}$ of the respondents in the course of the mentioned all-Union poll was unapproving of the activities of the party raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms while 73 percent of the communists feel that in the party apparatus workers of average or even low abilities and qualities predominate [2].

In Step With the Past

What impedes the promoting and growth of leaders of the perestroika generation?

This is primarily the technocratic approach to the recruitment of cadres and a one-sided orientation to the promoting to party bodies of specialists in the engineering-technical and agricultural areas and this has been a consequence of the shifting of the true and long-range interest of the party out of the area of ideology and policy into the area of production and the sphere of daily economic work. Since the mid-1950s, in the elective party bodies and its apparatus, there has been a purposeful and systematic rise in the share of industrial and agricultural specialists and a drop in the share of workers having a humanities education. This economic bent in practical work and in cadre policy, together with the dogmatization in internal party life and the actual depriving of the party mass of the right to seek out, debate and compare different viewpoints, have led to a decline in the party's intellectual level in comparison with the corresponding characteristics of society as a whole. They have shifted into the background what should be at the very focus of its activities: policy not from the rostrum but in the midst of people and in an open polemic and the shaping of mass awareness not

from reports on the measures but rather on the basis of the occurring real changes [3].

Certainly, it is impossible to put all the responsibility for the state of affairs in the nation solely on the party cadres. However, the link with their activities (or idleness) certainly does exist. However, this is a complex link and one mediated, in our view, by the circumstance that the party committees often were filled out not simply with national economic specialists but rather those who had previous experience in apparatus work in social organizations, basically the Komsomol. What cadres have occupied and probably will occupy in time key posts in our society and state can be judged from the current crisis situation in the Komsomol.

The data obtained by us in the course of two all-Union studies of the way of life and conducted 5 years apart, make it possible to speak about a clearly traceable trend: among the Komsomol members there has been a sharp increase in the share of persons who do not carry out any social work (in 1981-1982, the figure was 29.4 percent and in 1986-1987, 43.6 percent) as well as those who do such work haphazardly and carry out only individual social assignments (respectively 13.0 percent and 19.6 percent).

Here over 60 percent of the workers in the cities and approximately 75 percent of the agricultural workers and kolkhoz members who are regular members of the Komsomol are not linked to this organization by any activity and, at best, restrict their contact with it to the paying of membership dues. And among the members of elective bodies, there are many who, in their own view, are merely registered there but, in essence, do not do any work.

Mass formal membership in the Komsomol along with the "closing off" of activities in the organization to within a comparatively narrow group of members of the elective bodies has led to a situation where activity has begun to be carried out for the sake of activity, while the goals of the organization are replaced by the means of achieving them. All of this deepens the already great gap formed between the interests and goals of the regular Komsomol members and its full-time and volunteer functionaries. Analogous conclusions were reached by the Second Komsomol Central Committee Plenum which pointed out that a model of the organization has arisen which does not accept initiative from below but works basically under instructions from above [4].

In accord with this model, the cadres are selected who unswervingly carry out the instructions of the "superiors," who are not concerned with any "independent activity" and are truly concerned only for one thing, their "growth." And it is namely such "active" and convenient young people who are always circumspect and if "need be," then even obsequious toward any superior, they do not cause him any unpleasantnesses or surprises and who are encouraged and supported in every possible way, promoted to responsible posts in the

party, soviet, trade union and administrative bodies and in the national economy. And this happens rather quickly, as a career via the Komsomol in terms of its speed and reliability is not even comparable with the difficult and at times torturous advance up the ranks of professionalism.

In opening up for the rather mediocre but ambitious young persons truly unlimited prospects for a leadership career and providing them with an opportunity to be around power, to gain a taste for and delight in being part of the "sphere," and to be permitted various official and unofficial privileges and benefits, Komsomol work attracts unrestrainedly not only the so-to-say "honest" careerists, but outright rogues and "thieves." Life provides numerous examples of this.

The Afghan War resurrected in a new form the already forgotten phenomenon of the "children of Lt Shmidt" or the pseudo-Afghaners who, due to insolence and brazenness quickly became members of the Komsomol gorkom and obkom (Shcherbatyuk, Arefyev and others) and who interrupted their brilliant career merely because of an unfortunate coincidence of circumstance or major error (accidental unmasking, discovered theft and so forth) [5].

Again and again we encounter enterprising wheeler-dealers who hold a responsible Komsomol post. There is the somewhat unique case when the Komsomol members from one of the detachments on the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] did not give a recommendation to the party for a comrade because he had speculated in vodka but the latter quickly took over the chair of instructor at the Yakut Komsomol Obkom [6]. A Komsomol secretary is known who appropriated money and overseas trips which had been earned by his comrades in a construction detachment [7]. And a very close acquaintance is the co-worker of the Komsomol raykom who soberly programmed his career and cynically calculated on whom in the leadership one could rely in order to get into a no-risk "team" [8].

The children and relatives of many leaders of the Central Asian and Transcaucasian Republics have been lofted directly from the VUZ desk, bypassing the labor collectives, into a nomenklatura orbit in the Komsomol and then in the soviets, the party and the economic bodies. Hence, there should be no surprise from the results of a poll conducted by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion Under the Georgian CP Central Committee in the course of which over 50 percent of the respondents pointed out that Komsomol workers are promoted by patronage and kinship ties [9]. Also natural is the conclusion which has long become established in public opinion: the turning of the forge of the cadres, as the Komsomol was traditionally considered among us, into the "forge of careers." At present, this is one of the really operating mechanisms of inhibition, a mechanism of repulsion from active involvement in social changes of

honest and conscientious persons, with a heightened feeling of social justice, that is, those who are most needed by perestroika.

As dangerous as protectionism is an amoral formalism in the recruiting and promoting of Komsomol cadres when acting in the guise of "objectivity" or outright or sincere indifference. This is a dependable method for cutting off any effect of the youth on the decision taking process on cadre questions and is also frequently an insurmountable barrier on the path of the promoting of creative, independent and bold persons to the elective Komsomol bodies. The nutrient medium of formalism is social passivity and apathy, when people permit the imposing on themselves of leaders "by order" or upon instructions of the leadership, or when the choice is made according to the principle "anyone you like just not me."

The results of protectionism and formalism in the recruitment, promotion and rotation of Komsomol cadres are clearly evident as in the apparatus and in the elective bodies we constantly encounter persons who are gray, mediocre, who have a narrow viewpoint and are inclined to demagoguery, deception and servility (we might recall the film "A Rayon Scale Disaster"). On the contrary, the appearance of out-of-the-ordinary persons is viewed as an event. But it is not only the flaws of cadre policy that are to be blamed for this. The actual etatization of the social organizations and their incorporation in the command-administrative management system contributed to the misshaping of the professional, political and moral qualities of the full-time elected and staff workers. And at present since less efficiency is being encouraged and this merely conceals careerist aspirations. Political sensitivity is successfully replaced by the ability to promptly spot the inner workings of the personnel while morality is being replaced by "flexible" unprincipledness. Let me refer to the authoritative opinion of Anatoliy Blyudin, the former first secretary of the Ulyanovsk Komsomol Obkom: "The bureaucratic evils of apparatus [bureaucratic] life not only destroy work but often destroy the person as an individual, turning him into the inanimate executor and time-server" [10] And this is not surprising as often in Komsomol work, with all its apparent "ebullience," the main thing is lacking, that is, a real undertaking. Certainly it is impossible to devote one's life seriously to the forced collecting of membership dues, to seeking persons who have quit without taking them off the records, to "catching" hippies and outsiders, to breaking up or guarding demonstrations and meetings.

For any rule, there are exceptions. Thus, contrary to the well-organized system of recruiting "the best of the worst" Komsomol work has attracted and does attract young persons who have their own opinion, their solid view of the Komsomol and their place in it and who will not abandon either their personal dignity or their convictions. Among them are: A. Kiselev, second secretary of the Volgograd Komsomol Obkom who was not elected by the Central Committee Plenum as a deputy from the Komsomol for his radical ideas on modernizing the

organization and society, but who became a people's deputy upon the wishes of his compatriots; the First Secretary of the Komsomol Raykom, the "maximalist" V. Putrin, who has unswervingly come to the defense of the interests of the youth and in the way of the "string-pullers" who aspire to vacant Komsomol jobs; his colleague and like-thinker, I. Bogachev, who firmly defends his convictions and feels that it is essential to concentrate on the main area of developing meaningful (creative, politicized and so forth) leisure for the youth [11-13]. All of them are brought together by two features: a rejection by the "upper levels" as well as a portion of their own apparatus and full support from the youth. When it was proposed that the First Secretary of the Novoskolskiy Komsomol Raykom Ivan Bogachev write a request [to leave] "at his own request," the Komsomol members in the rayon resolved collectively to leave the Komsomol if this were to happen.

The general crisis situation existing in the Komsomol is directly linked to the "specific features" of the recruitment, activities and personal qualities of the cadres. This, in our view, is the most important factor in the loss of political and moral authority by the organization. Clear evidence of this is the formal membership in the Komsomol, the mass departure from it and the rapid growth of alternative informal associations of the youth which, as a rule, does not want to have anything to do with the bureaucratized Komsomol apparatus. According to the data of research conducted by the Higher Komsomol School Under the Komsomol Central Committee, for example, in Baku 54 percent of the 10th graders consider themselves members of such associations, 57 percent of the students in institutions of higher learning, 75 percent of the students of the PTU [vocational-technical school] and 40 percent of the young workers [14].

The new situation in our society as not only disclosed but has also sharply exacerbated the old, carefully concealed problems of the Komsomol. The former prestige of the Komsomol cadres wrapped in a cloak of secrecy and the superimportance of the actions being perpetrated has dissipated. A rather unseemly picture has appeared: sham, formalism, careerism, the ignoring of the interests of the youth, the suppression of dissent, the replacing of political tasks with internal office matters and the replacing of goals by the means of achieving them, and deprofessionalization. All of these have become deeply rooted in the Komsomol apparatus and they explain rather well, from whence come the incompetence, the fear of initiative and responsibility, hypocrisy and the reticence and inability to work with others.

In drawing into the party bodies, the opportunistic cadres which have "rich" experience in full-time Komsomol work and in placing these persons in responsible posts, the party dooms itself to self-isolation. Fortunately, the odiousness of the established cadre approaches is now recognized. Thus, in speaking at a ceremony devoted to the regular graduating of students and graduate students at the Academy of Social Sciences

Under the CPSU Central Committee, the Secretary of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee V.A. Medvedev proposed reflecting on whether everything is being done to bring out the potential and promote the young leaders of the perestroyka contingent who are developing and growing (they are becoming the people's representatives) not only without the support but often precisely contrary to the will of the party apparatus [16].

Don't Pigeonhole the Issue

Certainly, the restoring of the role of the party as the guiding, integrating and coordinating political and ideological force does not come down merely to radical changes in cadre policy. The character and direction of these changes are determined by the pace and the depth of developing the democratic process in the party itself [15].

The most important and most acute task here, in our view, is to break up the mechanism for manipulating the party mass. Its liquidation will be a guarantee for the democratic process in the nation.

The question of primary importance is democratically organized elections from which people can judge the degree of trust in them and about perestroyka as a whole. In our view, overcoming alienation from power is organically linked not only with the elimination of the nomenklatura or the practice of appointing or co-opting for elective positions, but also the multiple states in electing persons who due to their particular official position influence the entire social, political and moral atmosphere in one or another region. The conscious choice of these persons based upon extensive information concerning the professional and personal qualities of competing candidates and on a knowledge of their different approaches to resolving the very acute socioeconomic, sociopolitical and sociocultural problems is an absolutely irreplaceable and effective means for raising the political, economic and general culture of the masses and their social activeness. On the other hand, direct election on an alternative basis of the secretaries of the CPSU party buros, party committees, raykoms and gorkoms will create a broad, truly democratic cadre base for perestroyka which is so essential now.

The Achilles heel of internal party democracy is the low level of self-administration and independent public initiatives in party work and which "have never been in such a depressed state as at present" [15]. It is essential to actually realize the objective trend of socialist self-administration with the "eroding" of the bureaucracy from the social structures and replacing the regular formations in the party and other social organizations with volunteer ones with the active involvement of the leading strata of the intelligentsia and working class in this work.

An important lever for the bureaucracy in impeding the socioeconomic and political changes in the nation is the strictly hierarchical system of the dissemination of information and access to it. As a result, the rank-and-file

members of the party, Komsomol and trade unions are often deprived of an opportunity to form an adequate opinion on the crucial questions, let alone participate in the decision-taking.

The development of true glasnost is inconceivable without the profound democratization of operations for the mass information media which in their predominant majority serve as relays of ideas generated in the upper echelons of the central and local authorities, they often ardently defend not the national, state-wide interests but rather local and departmental ones, and virtually do not sound the alarm over hurried, insufficiently thought-out decisions by the superior levels. At present, this concerns many communists and nonparty persons [17].

There is obvious great harm caused to the prestige of the party by the antidemocratic articles in the election law and which regulate the promoting and electing of people's deputies from the public organizations. Such a system of elections comes down to the well-known bureaucratic games: to the scheduling and actual appointing of deputies who are needed by the command-administrative system for justifying its existence and for maintaining power and unmerited privileges. The presence among them of outstanding individuals and the bearers of democratic traditions and ideas does not alter its functions and essence. It was no accident that the regulation governing the electing of people's deputies from the public organizations was excluded by a roll-call vote at the Second Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 24 October 1989.

The party which has proclaimed perestroyka, a purification and renewal of society does not need fear its own candidate deputies before the court of the people. On the contrary, without losing its historical initiative, the party should head the search for the most democratic forms of social self-administration and in fact ensure the transition from consultative democratic institutions to imperative ones.

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SOCIOLOGICAL SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC REFORM

Why Workers Limit Output

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[Article by Vasilii Dorofeyevich Kozlov, candidate of economic sciences and doctoral student on the Chair for the Management of Socioeconomic Processes at the Academy of Social Sciences Under the CPSU Central Committee. He is the author of the book "Brigadnyy effekt" [The Brigade Effect] (1986). This is the first time he appears in our journal]

[Text] The conscious limitation by the workers of their output in the industrial sociology of the West has been termed restrictionism. Possibly this term was put into scholarly circulation for the first time by E. Mayo [1]. Although even at the end of the 19th Century, F. Taylor, in speaking about "working leisurely," complained that it was extremely difficult to find a worker who would not spend significant time on thinking up methods to slow down work and here maintain the appearance that he was working at full force [2]. Even in our days, T. Caplow, the author of the well-known textbook "The Sociology of Labor," completely unambiguously has

pointed out that the detection of the slowdown in the pace has been one of the main discoveries of sociology [3].

The essence of the given phenomenon is that, generally speaking, the workers respond to incentives not with the full force of their physical and mental abilities but hold something in reserve. A paradoxical situation arises where the managers seek out constantly new economic and psychological incentives for labor and broaden the range of their effect on the conduct of people, while the workers respond with equally clever maneuvers, pursuing their own interests. The methods of avoiding the formal laws of organization, that is, "the ways of least resistance to obtaining the greatest remuneration," in terms of their refinement and elaboration are the equal of these laws themselves, restricting or nullifying their action. Sociologists see the cause of this phenomenon in the separating of the management process from the execution process, in assuming perfectly justly that here lies a major—psychological and moral—danger for industrial labor. In the aim of overcoming the resistance of the workers to the formal incentive principles, in using their own terms, in American management the theory has been created of "humanization" and "the enrichment of labor."

The conscious restricting of output (together with the alienation of labor with half-hearted work precisely as an indication of this) for a long time was considered a strictly capitalist phenomenon. In recent years, in truth, without mentioning the very term, facts began appearing in our press indicating that restrictionism was inherent to the workers at socialist enterprises as well. In particular, T.I. Zaslavskaya has pointed out: "Sociological research conducted in industry and agriculture in various regions of the nation has shown that scarcely 1/3 of all the employees works at full force. The remainder, at their own admission, work less than a full load and with different organization of production could do more and better. In the economically strong units, the share of those who work at full force is greater than in the economically weaker ones" [4]. But the difference is far from as great as one might expect: respectively, 32 percent and 17 percent. As the reasons, they mention the poor organization of labor, a weak incentive system and the inefficiency of command-administrative management. According to the data of T.I. Zaslavskaya, 16 percent of the workers could not work better than at present; for 68 percent of those questioned, an improvement in the organization of production, the quality of leadership and improved wages would be conditions for more efficient labor.

It would be inaccurate to feel that previously Soviet sociology "did not notice" the facts of a conscious restricting of output. On the behavioral level, its symptoms were disclosed in a series of studies on such matters as labor activeness and motivation, personnel turnover, working time losses and reserves for the growth of labor productivity [5-8]. However, restrictionism here was more felt and from more indirect indications.

What does the conscious restriction of output mean? More often this is a reasoned response to bad working conditions: an arbitrary change by the management in the norms and standards, production unsteadiness, chronic failings in the supply and servicing of work areas and an unjust wage. Let us try to construct a conceptual model of the phenomenon. For this let us depict an arbitrary "scale of labor conduct for a worker (collective)." On it the extreme point (the conditional zero) will designate the factor "absence of work, no work," and which in practice is manifested in a conscious refusal to participate in socially useful labor for different periods of time, including the temporary stopping of work which is not involved with sickness, leave or training. A strike would be an extreme form of such a halt. All these forms comprise a certain segment of the straight line at the beginning of the system of coordinates. Beyond it lies the "zone of restrictionism" or the conscious limitation of productivity. Certainly it also represents a certain multiplicity of points on the straight line corresponding to the varying degree of manifesting "work at a leisurely pace" and to different production conditions.

If we mentally extend our scale, then at that point of it where the conscious restricting of output ends, the "zone of labor activeness" begins. In literature there is the expression "low labor activeness"; this also includes a conscious restraining of work. But in principle, labor activeness is contradictory to restrictionism and as such represents a conscious rise in labor productivity. Possibly it should be a question of the maximum complete realization of the physical and intellectual potential of the people. Such a model, of course, does not exhaust all the diversity of real situations in production. Rather it serves as a first approximation for a theoretical analysis of the problem which has not been treated properly in the literature.

Restrictionism, as a form of manifestation of social relations, expresses a measure of the equilibrium of the interests of three subjects as a minimum, the individual, the labor collective (small group) and society. In accord with this, we will construct a typologization of the causes of restrictionism.

The first group of reasons leads us to a macrosociological analysis of society. Among these we would mention such factors as the recurrences of a leveling psychology and a primitively understood social justice, the unique hegemony of manual labor with an overall decline in the prestige of the creative principle in work, the prevalence of the principles of uniformity in social life and simultaneously the underestimating of economic laws in the financial-credit sphere and tax policy. It would be possible to mention other "meta" factors of restrictionism. But the essence of the matter is not in the quantitative aspect but rather the qualitative content which is expressed by restrictionism. On the general sociological level, this influences the attitude toward labor and the various forms of the alienation of the individual from society and the personality from labor.

The close linkage between restrictionism and the socio-political situation in the nation and which previously, possibly, could not be traced very clearly has at present become more obvious. An extreme form of restrictionism is the strike or a collective refusal to work. As analysis shows, in 1988-1989, strikes occurred in 40 oblasts, krais, autonomous and Union republics at enterprises of various sectors [9]. Here the demands of the workers often went beyond the limits of production conditions, assuming a political hue.

On the national economic level, the concept of the "restrictive organization of labor" introduced into scholarly circulation by H. Kern and M. Schumann [10] or "restrictionism from above" could be applied to an analysis of the negative phenomena. This is manifested first of all in a conscious excess in the number of workers and specialists. According to certain estimates, in the USSR approximately 16 million of the employed population are "superfluous" [11].

Due to the instability of external conditions (flaws in planning, the unreliability of production cooperation and the diverting of manpower), the enterprise management endeavors to manipulate the personnel "reserve," in removing the social tension in the collective by using it and compensating for the negative influence of the organization of production, production unsteadiness and the working conditions. There is the same result from the paying of unearned money. This is based on sanctioned low "experimental-statistical" labor standards. F. Taylor felt that the management does not have the right to demand from the workers any particular affection for labor as long as the management itself has not learned to conscientiously handle its own duties. The imperfection of the economic mechanism multiplied by the incompetence of the leaders disrupts the labor process to such a degree that inevitably grounds arise for an unannounced collusion and restrictionism.

The low proportional amount of wages in newly created (net) product, without providing an acceptable standard of living for the people [12], at the same time creates the stereotype of "underpayment" in them. This is so persistent that the subsequent and very marked rise in wages does not impel a person to increase labor productivity. The people do not want to work better feeling that they are always being deceived. Thus, a persistent determinant in the "restrictionism from above" is the alienation of labor or the isolating of the worker from the conditions, process and results of his own labor activity. The degree of alienation is caused by the form of ownership but also depends upon concrete organizational-economic, technical-production and sociocultural conditions.

The social conduct of people more and more is a function of group standards. If an organization has existed sufficiently long, then sooner or later groups form in it with their own habits, standards of conduct and allocation of duties. And one such duty is to protect the status quo of the group and not allow disturbances in it.

For example, if an average output is considered the norm in a group, then anyone who overfulfills this will be subjected to collective ostracism.

In contrast to our nation, foreign specialists have long been studying the problem which is considered one of the fundamental ones in the sphere of labor activity. One of the American sociologists has written: "Possibly the splitting of the atom is a child's game in comparison with the problem of splitting and manipulating a firmly unified worker group" [13]. The well-known Hawthorne experiments of E. Mayo showed that it is possible to change the attitude toward labor primarily through the small group and informal standards. An analysis of the internal mechanisms of restrictionism makes it possible to disclose the reasons for false motivation and encouraging of labor.

The workers themselves openly voiced their opinion on the reasons for restrictionism. The radio equipment repairman M. Pleskov described that in his brigade many would be able to overfulfill the plan by 1.5- or 2-fold. "But life teaches us to adjust our output to the norm and earnings to the wage rate and hence forces us to slow up. We come to feel that if one works at full force then one could injure oneself and one's comrades would be angry. Why do more if your wages will be cut? This has already happened repeatedly" [14]. Even in a good brigade, it turns out, it is very advantageous to have a couple of loafers who barely keep up to the norm. In one of the usual campaigns for increasing the rate, they perform the function of a "balancer": "Why do we need new standards if we cannot handle the previous ones?" Of course, if the brigade worked at full strength, then one could dispense with this balance. But then the percentage of overproduction would be too high and the plant rate-setters would begin to wonder whether we should cut the rates. As a result, a portion of the brigade fulfills the standard by, for instance, 105 percent and the other by 170 percent. As an average, the overproduction is slight and then the changes in the rates which still were made would be tolerable [14].

Such facts serve as grounds for serious sociological analysis. The nation lacks a research tradition, the empirical data are fragmentary and the theoretical elaboration of the given question does not go beyond the limits of general philosophical reasoning. We must introduce a gradual study with a step-by-step deepening into the essence of the problem. And this we have done. In the first stage, a poll was conducted among 180 machine toll operators at six shops in one of the major enterprises of Gorky.¹ As it turned out, $\frac{2}{3}$ of those questioned felt that their brigade could perform much more work, but for one reason or another did not do this. According to the opinion of 73 percent of the respondents, their brigade was capable of performing the same amount of work but with fewer numbers. In addition, over $\frac{1}{2}$ of those questioned intended to reduce output, while 50 percent not only restrict individual labor productivity but also collective.

As a rule, restrictionism arises precisely in brigade work. Joint work, if it is incorrectly organized, serves as a nutrient medium contributing to the rapid progressing of malignant phenomena. The delayed providing of raw materials and tools, the absence of technical specifications and special supplies, obsolete equipment and an uneven production load—all of this limits personal and collective output. However, not only failings in the organization of labor but also the amount of wages often operates as a factor inhibiting the growth of productivity. In particular, 19 percent of the respondents pointed out that their earnings are sufficiently high and for this reason they do not consider it necessary to increase earnings by raising labor intensity. There is the characteristic detail that 16 percent of the machine toll operators pointed out that the brigade ceases to operate intensely as soon as it reaches a definite, in its view, sufficient level of wages; 17 percent of those questioned pointed out that they could carry out the same amount of work with fewer employees but in maintaining the previous wage fund. Finally, 1 out of 5 (and in a number of shops, 1 out of 3) pointed out that in their brigade a firm opinion had been formed directed against a rise in job intensity.

Let us reflect on what these figures mean. First of all, one is struck by the persistency of motivation running contrary to a rise in output. The extended disorders in the organization of labor have shaped a persistent stereotype which, having become deeply established in collective psychology, in the future impedes the mobilizing of people to increase productivity. Psychological inertia is a profoundly social phenomenon which is deeply rooted in the harmful practice of organizing joint labor. In penetrating into the deep layers of the personality structure, the notion of limitation becomes not only a conscious motive but also a moral standard of conduct. In other words, restrictionism, in rising under the conditions of collective labor, is initially turned into a personal motive of conduct and then, having become an element in public opinion, is shaped into a persistent component of the sociopsychological climate.

Restrictionism can be viewed as a method of the workers to defend their interests. This was what F. Taylor felt. It can also be considered as a factor in applying pressure to management policy, that is, a negative, irrational form of involvement in management. M. Weber supported such views. Restrictionism can be interpreted more broadly as a method inherent to any organization, particularly a bureaucratic one, for the "average executor" to avoid performing his duties, in actually transferring them to others. While in Taylor and Weber it was a question of a conscious set which supposed a sort of collective conspiracy, in the latter instance one must speak about the shortcomings of the system. In our research we discovered rather a form of conscious conduct: the brigade intentionally limits productivity as soon as what is perceived to be an acceptable wage level is reached.

Such conduct can be interpreted as a latent form of protest against the disorganization of production. When

disorders occur due to the fault of management, and the latter does nothing to eliminate these, the workers express their protest through their attitude toward labor. They cannot and do not have any other method except a strike. In actuality, 1 out of 3 of the questioned machine tool workers would agree to a significant rise in output if at the same time: a) wages would increase, b) the steadiness of operations would improve and c) the organization of labor was improved.

Selective research at the enterprises of Kostroma has shown that 60 percent of the workers could work better under the conditions of a just wage and better organization of labor. Only 19.1 percent of those questioned confirmed that they worked at full force and make a major effort [15].

Restrictionism, like labor activeness, expresses the opposite poles of motivation and a definite type of behavioral response. The basic reasons for the conscious limiting of output remain the deterioration of working conditions, the inefficiency of the incentive system, the authoritarian management style, the low competence of the leaders, the abuses of official position, the chronic ignoring of the elementary requirements of the workers and, finally, disappointment in the hopes for positive changes. A predominant number of those questioned in the all-Union research did not conceal that they were not working at full force. In 1986, the figure was 88 percent and in 1988, 81 percent. Of these 54 percent was not satisfied with the working conditions, 62 percent with material-technical supply and 23 percent with the sociopsychological climate. Some 92 percent of the questioned leaders and specialists noted facts of mismanagement [8].

According to the standards, expenditures on providing favorable working conditions which would meet modern requirements calculated per work area should be $\frac{1}{4}$ of its cost and equal 8,000-10,000 rubles. Actually, the enterprises allocate an average of not more than 300 rubles and this only slightly lessens the overall tension. Some 140 billion rubles would be needed to escape from this situation. But these enormous amounts would not even be a salvation as with the current pace it would take 60 years to solve the problem [11].

Clearly, F. Hertzberg is right in asserting that according to his two-factor model, working conditions are not motivators. Satisfaction is a function of the content of the job and dissatisfaction is a function of the working conditions. An improvement in working conditions helps to retain the personnel and stabilize the staff, it increases the social attractiveness of working at a given enterprise but does not necessarily impel people to increase productivity. Without encouraging an increase in output, hygienic factors nevertheless prevent or reduce restrictionism. Proof of this is the recent strikes by the Donets miners. Their main demand was better working and living conditions. But there was no question of any enriching of the content of labor, self-realization and other traditional "motivators" in Hertzberg's sense.

The data of our research make it possible to draw up a typology of the attitude toward labor which in an approximate form divides workers into four main groups: 1. The "supernormative" type or enterprising employees with a clearly expressed need for creative labor. These comprise 5-10 percent of the total aggregate. They are the production leaders capable of assuming high responsibility (in management they are called entrepreneurs). 2. The "normative" type includes those who keep within the norm and who respond to an external but positive incentive according to the formula: the stronger the incentive the greater the probability of a rise in labor activeness. This is the best testing area for seeking out effective motivation systems. In this group are 40-45 percent of the employees. 3. The "subnormative" type in its numbers equals the previous group (40-45 percent). This includes employees who respond little or inadequately to incentives. They prefer a peaceful job carried out without tension. When remuneration is low, they begin to save their forces for nonproduction activities. For those fond of "job comfort," more effective are the negative incentives or control with the aid of standards combined with strongly acting positive incentives. 4. The "refusing" type includes employees with very poor motivation and often warped labor morality. They require administrative-legal interference or even coercion (5-10 percent).

Certainly, a real enterprise is incapable of selecting only employees to its liking and here the entire spectrum of an attitude toward labor is represented. It is impossible to change the situation immediately. It is more correct to apply a system of a differentiated selected incentive. Here the proposed typology can be beneficial.

Footnote

1. Participating in the carrying out of the research and processing of the results were O.M. Yevdokimov and V.A. Lisitsyn. The sample was mechanical and not repeated. The poll was taken in 1986-1987.

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Everything Can Be Stolen

905D0013E Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Feb 90 (signed to
press 21 Dec 89) pp 56-64

[Article written from results of a writer-involved observation]

[Text] The shadow economy has assumed such a scale that no one can remain indifferent to it. It is not only a powerful factor disrupting the development of the entire national economy. Its standards and values have become mass stereotypes which control the behavior of people. Naturally, sociology cannot overlook this phenomenon although it does not know how to approach it. The traditional questionnaire method is scarcely apt here, if only for the inaccessibility of the units of observation. Speculators and operators are not fond of giving interviews or participating in a sociological poll. And the social statistics collected by the state bodies is either classified or essentially incomplete. The author chose a different path.

Over a period of 40 days in 1989, I conducted a participating observation and as the object of this I chose a dacha cottage. In the rural localities at present a good

deal of housing is going up by the cooperative method. But I sought out an area considering its inaccessibility for the supervisory bodies and, at the same time, far away from state construction projects. The latter were also to be used as objects of study.

The research plan was worked out according to all the rules of a sociological observation. In addition to the methodological portion it also included procedures for selecting the client, the brigade of construction workers, the strategy of "a provocation by action" and the method of processing the observation results were carefully operationalized and the nature of the relations between the members of the brigade and the system of interpersonal ties were conceptualized.

Let me point out that previously undertaken attempts to study the structure of the shadow economy by the method of a participating observation were unsuccessful. The basic reason was the not quite correct method of selecting the client as here the role was played by the leaders of agricultural enterprises. The problem was that in this instance the initiative of acquiring building materials and equipment remained in the hands of the supplier or the work superintendent and the sociologist had to observe him from the side. Naturally, in such a situation it was not possible to trace how the secret deals with the thieves were carried out or how the stolen material was delivered. The second reason was the erroneous choice of the very object of observation. If it was being erected on the territory of a rural population point, then it was immediately in the plain view of all, particularly the social control bodies including the administration and local executive committees. Research activities were also impeded by the fact that the leaders of the agricultural enterprises, as they say, knew the sociologists personally. All of this prevented the carrying out of a "clean" experiment. However, even the negative experience came in handy in further work. Because of it it was possible to take into account ahead of time numerous nuances which determined the current success.

How was the participating observation organized? In this instance, a private individual played the role of the client. The object of observation was chosen in such a manner that it was distant from any population points while its construction (due to the small size) could be completed in a maximum short time, from 35 to 40 days. The rigid time limits were dictated by the desire to avoid unnecessary attention by the supervisory bodies the premature intervention of which could thwart the experiment. Conspiracy, as we see, was needed not only by those being observed but also the person doing the observing.

Let us make a note here. With the existing workload of the internal affairs employees, a period of 35-40 days is considered critical so that they could, on the basis of the obtained information, gain a more or less complete notion of what in actuality was going on at the construction site. In other words, this was a time of "identifying

the object." On the practical level, the short period made it possible to avoid competition by those who were putting up projects on adjacent plots. According to the rules of construction cooperatives, during the first 3 months of establishing orchard and garden societies and the partitioning of land, only preparatory work should be carried out. Finally, the period of research was also governed by the summer vacations.

In order that the observations fitted within the designated time, we had to resort to the method of "provocation by action." Here the essence is in accelerating the actual course of events and compressing the social processes in the aim of ascertaining what in ordinary observation would be extended in time and not with the required concentration. The acceleration also makes it possible to understand the inner logic of the process being observed and disclose its key elements. In the given instance, the "acceleration of reality" was achieved by selecting the corresponding client and the forced preparation of the project for work. Thus, it was necessary to prepare the required materials for the foundation, the carpentry work and the brick ahead of time. This was due to the fact that according to the preliminary observations the materials of this sort are funded, they are strictly accounted for and are issued not merely in accord with the needs of the construction site but only according to documents. In the course of the research, it became clear that they could also be obtained by roundabout means.

In parallel, a "reconnaissance" was carried out at the nearby state construction projects and preliminary acquaintance was made with the assumed "companions" in illegal deals. All possibilities of attracting an additional labor force were studied. Certainly a need for this could arise with the illness of any member of the construction worker brigade. The channels for using state equipment at the cooperative project were tested out. The implementation of this point in the plan continued right until the end of the research.

In choosing the client, consideration was given to a number of parameters which he should meet: 1) the presence of a farmstead plot or a dacha, a motor vehicle and free cash; 2) the desire to build a cottage quickly and comparatively cheaply; 3) the lack of scruples before the law. The choice of the client was the most difficult matter. Not one of the candidates recommended by the construction cooperatives fully met our requirements. Finally, by chance, the necessary figure was found, the chairman of one of the cooperatives. This circumstance unexpectedly opened up new prospects as it was possible to observe, as they say, in direct contact the invisible aspects in the life of a cooperative enterprise.

Thus, those points of the study plan which did not depend directly on the researcher were met. It was merely a matter of choosing the necessary persons for the brigade, prepare physically and fill in the professional gaps, adjust the methods and begin immediate observation.

I did not place any particular demands on the brigade members. First of all, they should be highly skilled construction workers desiring to earn money and capable of maintaining the physical stresses over a period of 35-40 days. Acquaintances who were cooperative construction workers helped me, suggesting possible candidates. Of these, two were chosen: a work superintendent from an industrial enterprise and a highly skilled stone mason who had mastered all the construction jobs and who had worked repeatedly in similar brigades. With them we agreed upon the work and wage conditions as well as the time during which they were to work.

Although the tactics of relations with the brigade members could be termed democratic, they were not informed as to the actual aims of the planned measure, the secret deals and so forth. For accelerating the work the client proposed additional manpower from among the cooperative co-workers and who would work under labor agreements. Thus, a collective was made up which would help in carrying out the scientific plan.

Four months remained until the start of work. During this time, we had to secure the most scarce materials and prepare physically for the work under semilegal conditions for 14-16 hours a day over a period of 35-40 days. You will agree that this is not an easy task for a sociologist. But it was essential to work on equal footing with professional workers. It was also essential to become more thoroughly familiar with the techniques of the planned undertaking, criminalistics, literature on the questions of economic crime as well as again observe the construction workers in practice. In the course of the research, we had to work in complete social and psychological isolation, to act incognito, observing here the demands of the assumed role of economic thief.

The forthcoming action seemed less and less attractive to me. I was tortured with doubts: was I acting correctly from the moral viewpoint, in involving a completely unsuspecting brigade in secret machinations and deals? Both they and myself would be outside the law. No legally formulated contracts had been drawn up because of the categoric refusal of the client. I also initially had a feeling of awkwardness in front of the completely unsuspecting client, regardless of the accurate information I had on his "personality." Preliminary information persuaded us that we were working with a person far removed from moral ideals. One acquaintance described him as a "knight of the word and a pygmy of the deed." It was unpleasant that the work was to be carried out on the sly. The feeling of awkwardness from role participation constantly created a state of psychological discomfort. All of this could be termed the psychological costs of a method of participating observation.

A few words on the method and procedure for collecting the information. The methods were worked out considering my previous experience which I have already mentioned as well as the experience gained by domestic and foreign sociology. We had to give up the diary entries as was caused by the conditions of covert work.

The keeping of diaries requires a certain amount of time which we did not have as well as a dependable storage place. In addition, the writing process attracts attention of persons around. Finally, a diary could be discovered by accident by someone. Having gone through all the methods, I decided on a small information map the size of a half-sheet of paper. It was easy to keep and minimum time was required for filling it out. In terms of content, the map disclosed the entire scope of the deals and their dynamics, the characteristics and responses of the suppliers to the deals being carried out, the expenditures made and finally the time spent on acquiring materials. The procedure in essence was simple: having left the place where the transaction was carried out, that is, on the way back, I filled out the blank, I sealed it in an envelope and mailed it to a certain address. The processing and analysis of the information would come later.

The participating research was to answer the following questions: the degree of the spread of embezzlement in construction; the conditions and prerequisites for economic crimes; the sociopsychological characteristics of the suppliers and their response to the fact of the committing of an illegal transaction; the structure of the inner ties between the workers of the construction collective who unintentionally committed an economic crime. In addition, the task was set of gaining quantitative parameters on the ratio of expenditures for construction, that is, the ratio of the volume, the materials and the services obtained through official channels and through the channels of the shadow economy. In other words, an elucidation of the share of stolen and illegally obtained materials in the total structure of expenditures on a single project. In addition to this, we recorded the number of refusals to sell stolen materials proportionally to the number of requests as well as the share of money paid from the pocket of the cooperative to those working on the given project.

An analysis of the research results has shown that theft is most widespread at those projects where they work according to the "watch method" using temporarily assigned persons. It can be asserted that such facts are in no way an accident. On the contrary, they are quite natural, as they reflect the organized alienation of this category of employees from the means of production. The "temporary workers" are outside the zone of social control both on the part of the enterprise leadership and on behalf of the labor collective. Under the conditions of the constant change in personnel in the subcontracting organizations which may at times amount to up to 10 at one project, there is virtually no accounting for the expenditure and overexpenditure of materials, and it is difficult to identify responsibility for their damage and theft. Understandably at permanently operating projects, the problem of the illegal acquisition of building materials is less acute. The question consists in solvency and the ability to select the proper figure, that is, the one who will make a deal.

The theft and sale of state materials under the table are inherent to all workers, regardless of age and profession. One had merely to be not lazy in approaching them and if the required scarce item was available, make an agreement on the spot. Everything could be stolen. I noticed one detail: the people are more willing to make a deal if the contact promises to be a single one, but it was significantly harder to reach agreement on numerous and extended contacts. What was this: a natural fear or the desire to protect oneself against the eventuality of collapse? Did it take just once for a person to successfully carry off a shady deal without any consequences for himself for him to already be "one of them" for the thieves and embezzlers. They would turn to him again and again.

Things were simpler at "complicated" projects. If the required building material was not at the site, then they "borrowed it" from the subcontractors, choosing non-working time, as a rule, for this. However, they did not shun former experience, sharing with the workers of this organization. Over the 40 days I repeatedly met thieves but never once a guard. There were none at any of the projects. The impression was gained that such a position was not part of the construction roster.

The police bodies assumed the functions of a guard. But what was the effect of their activities? Certainly the co-workers of the BKhSS [combating theft of socialist property and speculation] at the local police department repeatedly visited the project. But the client who was miles away from the construction project was notified ahead of time of their visit. By the moment of the meeting with the inspector, the necessary documents for the building materials were always in place. It would have taken over a week for the inspector to check their authenticity and this time he simply did not have. Under his supervision was a good third of a rayon with numerous trade establishments, construction projects, several orchard and garden societies, depots and other facilities.

The task of the research included an elucidation of the theft process carried out within the primary labor collectives. Initially in the theoretical model it was assumed that among the inveterate thieves there was a predominance of the following: a) persons with a dubious past; b) those condemned for similar crimes; c) the lumpenized part of the working class. However, the data of the observation convinced us of the need to broaden the range of "suspects." My conclusion was that at the construction sites virtually everyone who can steal something does. And for facilitating the theft it seems as though the best conditions are intentionally created for this with a very dubious mechanism of responsibility, virtually the absence of control and the personal orders from the superiors to "dispatch" a good wherever.

Once I happened to observe the depressing scene. Two brigade leaders were heatedly arguing as to who would be the first to be able to sell (read: dispose of) the stolen

goods. At the peak of the argument, one of them threatened to report the other to the police. Such is the absurd logic of the shadow economy. One does not know how it all would have ended if both were not afraid of being "caught out." The conflict only ended when the arguers were convinced that they could sell their materials in turn.

From the viewpoint of the shadow structures, the collective of construction workers can be viewed as a layered cake. Each steals on his own level, if there is an opportunity: the rank-and-file workers and brigade leaders commit their crimes in secret from the work superintendent or foreman. The latter know everything but pretend not to notice. The work superintendent and foreman take what they need but not by themselves but rather with the aid of "trustworthy" workers. In turn, the leaders do the same thing but now through "trustworthy" work superintendent. Here it is a particular type of trust and is based on joint participation in a crime. Once I asked an acquaintance work superintendent whether he was afraid of a run-in with the law. He replied calmly that there was no threat to him personally, since everything was carried out by the workers. He saw his job in merely promptly protecting them. Naturally, in such a situation the leader is made dependent upon the workers. He is unable to perform control functions. Even worse, control actually means a cover-up. As a consequence, a superior does not reveal anything, he does not make comments and does not stop the selfishness. In acting this way toward his subordinates he is proposing that the superior leadership behave the same with him. And thus another management pyramid is built.

Practice shows that there is no guarantee that the inspectors will not begin to play a double game. Some 6 years ago, the wives of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the BKhSS inspectors worked in trade and simultaneously worked with their husbands as paid informers. If there were thefts in trade it was certainly no question of a serious inspection.

During the research I established contact with suppliers of stolen materials more than 60 times and only in 2 instances was I refused. One of these was based on the fear of a leader (the person with whom I was talking did not know that the leader himself had sold building materials the day before). The second time, the reason for the refusal was the shortage of the material as described above.

In a majority of instances, the building materials were sold at state prices or at retail trade prices but never higher than the cooperative prices. Never did I see any interest in the "purchaser" on the part of those who sold the stolen goods.

According to my observations, in approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ of the cases the immediate leader knew about the transaction to be made and consequently got a "skim" from this. Hence he pretended that he did not understand anything. In one out of three instances, the leadership organized the theft using the hands of subordinates,

leaving the project at the moment of the theft. One of the work superintendents expressed his attitude to what was happening thus: "Without me the workers will make off with what they need. But then I will not know precisely what was stolen and what was the material loss. In addition, everything they steal they take themselves. Hence I personally am innocent before the law."

In approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ of the cases of contact with the temporary workers at the end of the shift I smelled alcohol. In its very essence, the watch method of organizing labor is not aimed at disciplining the workers. It merely reproduces the socially negative environment and concentrates the unfavorable conditions which in turn lead to the gradual "evaporation" of professional potential. In construction a sociodomic infrastructure and elementary domestic conveniences are lacking. As a result, there is the partial or complete lumpenization of the working class.

According to my estimates, in building the project 55 percent of the materials and services (in cost terms) used were purchased outside the law. Some 70 percent of the wages went through the cooperative payment office. In other words, the work was described as the activities of the cooperative. The client stole from the treasury of the cooperative around 20,000 rubles just from illegal operations to pay for the work done. If one adds to this amount the payment of services to persons who helped him to acquire scarce building materials above the norm, then the total amount will be 30,000 rubles. The payments were made merely because the cooperative chairman was himself in the role of the client. It was precisely he who acquainted me with the techniques of the illegal financial operations. He began with a proposal to pay for the work with fake labor agreements. Then he explained other tricks in filling out the official papers.

The reasons for their activities are not without interest. In the first place, it is essential to "grub up" more money as long as there is an opportunity and provide for one's prosperous old age (and leave something to the children). Secondly, it is very profitable for him to remain longer at the head of the cooperative but, at his own admission, it is completely useless for the state. Thirdly, he must ensure his own social support at present and in the future by paying out a round sum to officials or their relatives. A very straightforward strategem allows him to "remain at the head." The essence of this is as follows: Every 6 months the chairman changes the staff of the cooperative, recruiting novices from persons who are vocationally very distant from the specialty of the cooperative. The work is performed by persons recruited under labor agreements and chosen in such a manner that they themselves seek out the field of activity (the contract) and themselves perform the work. As a rule, under no conditions will the novices seek a conflict with the chairman. Ordinarily they are offered to collaborate calculating a wage of 60 percent of the value of the contract with 40 percent remaining for the cooperative. But as soon as the contract is concluded, the chairman under various pretexts increases the share of withheld

funds up to 60-70 percent. It is precisely from these additionally deducted amounts that they form the portion of the money which is spent on the support of persons who provide this "support." I only partially understood who the "support group" was. The book-keeper had the complete information and the chief never introduced him to anyone. The wage rolls were drawn up in such a manner that no one could accidentally see undesirable names. The payment procedure was carried out using untraceable methods. A portion of the money was transferred immediately to the bank account of a certain individual.

The psychological portrait of the client is unique. He would speak about the undertaking which he headed only in the context of the possibilities of obtaining "income." Those around were vermin and not people. He had "bought" them although at different prices. He had neither acquaintances or friends of his own age. A lack of restraint and impoliteness towards the members of his family and those materially dependent on him, falsehood and hypocrisy, moral unscrupulousness and cowardice in him were combined with entrepreneurship and a professional grasp.

Several times I happened to observe the relations of the chairman with representatives of the local authority. The nature of his contact was very unique. Thus, with the procurator of the rayon he was all politeness and friendliness, a straightforward fellow and active fighter against rogues and racketeers. But without witnesses he described the same procurator quite differently: he, supposedly, was a gambler without rules, ready to sell out his homeland and pawn his brother if he violated the law and so forth. Also unique were relations with the immediate representative of Soviet power who depended on him for everything and whom the chairman always called "my man." He was all flattery in public. But behind his back it was "a pauper, down-and-out and moreover was married to a Jewess." All the "sins" of the chairman were exacerbated by a pathological honesty which, in the opinion of our cooperative member, was quite unforgivable.

These and other similar people in one way or another create for my hero the social support and a small, maybe 2,000 or 3,000, in annual bonuses about which few know as well as the graft from the peripheral affiliates of the given cooperative. Possibly, they also have a low opinion of him and behind his back call him an adventurer and a cooperative schemer. Nevertheless, when need be they provide help.

In retaining persons working for him under agreements, the chairman uses a method as old as the hills. He "ties them up" in machinations. With a contract in hand, he proposes that the recruits use the so-called training methods fund of the cooperative. They, without suspecting that the supplies have been simply stolen by the enterprising cooperative member from other institutions, use them in their work. When the latter comes to an end, the chairman refuses to pay the agreed amount.

And if they complain, threatening to unmask him, he mentions the real sources of the supplies. Here he informs them confidentially that the sources have not received a single kopeck and the working out of the training procedures was a plan quota. But you are demanding money for the work of someone else. The workers leave the cooperative with empty hands. But the cooperative leader himself has been enriched with tens of thousands of rubles.

Having generalized these and other data from the participating observation, I will risk making concrete proposals. It seems to me that the local soviets on whose territories the orchard and garden societies are being opened over the first 2 or 3 years must also open up mobile building materials stores or affiliates of urban stores which would fill the orders. It is also possible to set up small equipment leading points handling equipment the cooperative members need. In order to protect the cooperative movement against infiltration by dishonest persons, in the legislation it is essential to stipulate a system of relations within the cooperatives and give the community the right to turn over the cooperative members or their leadership to a guardian council. Finally, it would be correct to provide competition in electing the chairman and the elections should be organized also by the guardian council.

These are practical recommendations stemming from the research results. But there is also a more general conclusion which clearly should be discussed by sociologists and lawyers. The shadow economy undoubtedly is undermining the bases of the state. This happens largely because the state itself does not want to or cannot prevent the theft and underground business.

According to the statistics, the nation has more than enough workers of the police bodies, the courts and procurator's office; persons employed in people's control, the management personnel, Komsomol and trade unions. They all in one way or another exercise control functions. With the aid of statistics it can be shown that they are all hard at work. But the number of economic crimes for some reason is rising and not falling. Practice indicates that in and of itself, the number of inspectors and punishers does not solve the problem. Moreover, among the inspectors there are some who switch to the ranks of the criminals. Labor incentives are also important. For example, the wage of an instructor at an oblast people's control committee is almost the lowest among white collar personnel, let alone in comparison with those they are inspecting. Hence, the low skills of the personnel and consequently the openness to a bribe.

In 1988, in one of the nonchernozem oblasts, there was a newspaper investigation of facts of false weighing at a potato-receiving station. This established that along with false weights there had also been the sale of potatoes "under the table." The next day they decided to "close in" on the criminals with the aid of the oblast procuracy and police administrations. The inspector of the people's control committee was also invited. And although they

did not inform the local authorities, as many were related to the swindlers, the proposed inspection was learned of. The next morning a departure time was set but the representative of the people's control committee did not show up. And what to their amazement when they arrived at the destination, the inspectors saw the smiling instructor who had been waiting for them much earlier than the stipulated time. He explained that he had been able to impose order without the use of "surgical measures." In other words, he simply thwarted the operation and not out of naivete but with definite intention.

One other problem has still not been put to rest during the participating observation. Are the forms of combating economic crimes effective? The history of the last more than 70 years is the history of continuous reorganizations and changes which have never been brought to their logical conclusion. There has been a series of campaigns of "struggle for labor productivity," "catch up and surpass," "for the purity of the ranks," "morality" and so forth. But in terms of the ultimate effect we, as before, remain behind the civilized world. Moreover, we are doing virtually no work on developing the mechanisms of social immunity against pathological forms of deviation or on creating conditions for the reproduction of these mechanisms using the algorithms of self-regulation. Has the state, has the principal of public ownership, really lost interest in preserving its economic base? Or have its social institutions the tasks of which include the protection of this base kept only the function of accounting? COPYRIGHT: Otdeleniye filosofii i prava Akademii nauk SSSR 1990

FACTS, COMMENTARIES, NOTES (From the Sociologist's Desk)

Drug Addiction Among Juveniles

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ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Feb 90 (signed to
press 21 Dec 89) pp 100-102

[Article by A.Ya. Grishko]

[Text] Juvenile drug addicts are our common pain and our common concern. Driven deep inside our social organism, drug addiction has gradually assumed all the features of an acute chronic illness.

Here are a few figures. While in 1984, the number of persons diagnosed as "drug addiction and substance abuse" was 13.7 per 100,000, in 1986, the figure was 17.1 and in 1987, already 21.5 [1]. This trend has also been maintained among juveniles. The results of a complete survey of schoolchildren and students of the PTU [vocational-technical school] have shown that while in 1986, some 6-8 percent had tried drugs at least one, in 1987, the figure was 12 percent [2]. In individual regions, the number of registered addicts in a comparatively short time has increased by several-fold [3].

On the agenda is the question of an all-encompassing and effective treatment. The practices existing up to 1987 produced little effect, particularly in terms of those who rejected voluntary treatment. It was bad enough that the known addicts themselves did not want treatment and they moreover had a negative influence on their peers. In a poll of condemned drug addicts, 69.4 percent pointed out that they began using drugs under the influence of comrades, friends and acquaintances [4].

Since 1987, the Ukase of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet introduced compulsory treatment for juveniles who had reached the age of 16 and who had rejected voluntary treatment in the therapeutic-educational preventoriums (LVP) with a period from 6 months to 2 years. Up to the present, the LVP have been in operation for 3 years now. It is possible to draw the first conclusions and provide certain assessments and recommendations. It is also possible to attempt to schematize the accumulated data on the contingent of juveniles who received treatment here. Certainly the effectiveness of the experience depends completely upon the ability to find an individual approach to each person.

In being guided by these tasks, we have conducted a questionnaire poll of some 200 persons in two preventoriums (as for now there are just three of them: in the RSFSR and the Ukraine); we interviewed 50 juveniles and 20 physicians. One of the researchers lived for a certain time in a preventorium and carried out a participating observation.

Thus, a majority of those studied is 17-year-olds (66.3 percent), with 16 and 18-year-olds being, respectively, 17.3 percent and 13.3 percent. There were no girls. The place of residence is predominantly the city (80.4 percent) and rural inhabitants were 15.5 percent. Some 3.1 percent began using drugs at the age of 10, 16.5 percent from the age of 12, 49.5 percent from the age of 14, 28.9 percent from the age of 16 and 20.1 percent later. Only in 8.0 percent was the illness preceded by the abuse of alcohol. Of this number 12.0 percent tried alcohol at the age of 10, 16 percent at the age of 12, 48.0 percent took a liking to wine at the age of 14, 16 percent from the age of 16. Some 93.8 percent of the fellows smoked.

Almost all the fellows had parents: some 62.3 percent had both, 33.7 percent had just a mother and 3.0 percent just a father. Only 1.0 percent did not have any parents. The juveniles who had just one parent, as a rule, began using drugs at an earlier age. In our sample, among those having both parents there were no individual who began using drugs at the age of 10-12, while with one parent, their share was 6.7 percent.

As might be expected, alcoholism or drug addiction of the parents was a provoking factor. Thus, in 5.2 percent of our respondents, both parents were alcoholics, and in 2.0 percent they were drug addicts; in 19.6 percent one parent was an alcoholic and 15 percent had one drug

addict. In other words, some 41.8 percent of the parents to one degree or another was afflicted with these problems.

We should also note the completely sufficient educational level of the parents of the juveniles: some 32.4 percent had a general secondary education, and 24.7 and 18.0 percent had, respectively, a specialized secondary, higher and incomplete higher education. The fellows themselves had basically completed 8th or 9th grade (60 percent). Some 32.0 percent had obtained a secondary education, and only 8 percent had a 6th or 7th grade education. At the moment they were sent to the LVP, a majority of the juveniles was in school: 34.0 percent in general education schools, 2.0 percent in boarding schools and children's homes, 42.0 percent in PTU; 15.0 percent was not in school (a portion of them was working while others were neither studying nor working).

A significant portion of the juveniles in the LVP worked (63.2 percent). I happened to observe how they were employed. The basic job was making nets. The process is monotonous, uninteresting and fatiguing. Clearly, such labor cannot attract one or arouse a desire to master a profession which one would follow after release. At the same time, precisely labor therapy should become one of the effective methods of treatment in the LVP. Here it is advisable to consider where the young fellow will reside after completing compulsory treatment.

In our view, a natural addition to the list of factors accompanying a drug addict on his path to the needle is the criminal bent of his behavior. We ascertained that 4 percent of the respondents before being sent to the LVP had been condemned to imprisonment; 5.3 percent had been paroled. An absolute majority was registered at the inspectorates for juvenile affairs.

Our data indicate that most often affliction with drug addiction was preceded by such factors as: interested in trying 39.1 percent; influence of friends 20.0 percent; nothing to do 18.3 percent; unhappiness in the family or poor relations 12.2 percent; family problems with 5.2 percent. Here for many was very difficult to test out whether the addiction to drugs had become an illness and not a pleasant pastime. Only 5.4 percent of those in the LVP considered themselves addicts. A majority (94.6 percent) did not consider themselves such. Hence, the low percentage of those wishing voluntary treatment.

The sending to a LVP is a compulsory administrative-medical measure which is, undoubtedly, severe, as it involves isolation and other limitations on rights, and according to the purpose of the law should be applied only in those instances when all other methods have been exhausted. We ascertained that in terms of an absolute majority of the juveniles, all available measures had been employed: 22.0 percent had been warned; 24.4 percent had been fined; the cases of 34.6 percent had been investigated at a commission on juvenile affairs. However, the fate of 18.6 percent of the juveniles had not alarmed anyone before being sent to the LVP.

We endeavored to make up our questionnaires in such a manner as to ascertain why those who had been sent to the LVP were ceasing to use drugs. Some 30.4 percent pointed to the absence of any opportunity of acquiring drugs, while a majority was not attracted to them (60.9 percent). Some 5.9 percent used medicines instead of drugs.

The older the juveniles, the less they wanted to be treated. Of the 16-year-olds, 9.5 percent did not believe in the effectiveness of treatment, while at the age of 17, the figure was already 22.0 percent and at age 18, 27.3 percent.

Of undoubted interest is the psychological characteristic of the type of personality of the patient. Some 23.0 percent was characterized as emotionally unstable, 21.0 percent was of the psychosthenic type, 14.0 percent was of the mixed type; some 5.9 percent each was epileptiform-excitabile and schizoid; 8.0 percent each was hyperthymic and cycloid; 6.0 percent was excitabile-unstable; 1.0 percent was hysteric.

As a rule, the ranks of the drug addicts were filled out from poor students not interested in the social life of their contemporaries and not participating in it; 74.5 percent studied satisfactorily in school and 12.2 percent unsatisfactorily. Very rarely did they participate in the sports sections and circles (7.2 percent and 3.1 percent, respectively). The basic contingent was indifferent to this.

From what indications can we judge the utility of treatment and the degree of reeducating the juvenile? Clearly, primarily from how he relates to those means by which they attempted to help him return to a normal life.

The training of juveniles becomes an important means of educational action and in shaping his moral underpinnings. Study in a school and PTU are an indispensable element of social adaptation in the LVP. A second indispensable condition for treatment is the accustoming to labor. Here 56.0 percent worked conscientiously while 35.0 percent avoid it.

Almost 1 out of 5 (23.4 percent) behaves well, 67.3 percent has individual infractions, while 3.7 percent systematically and intentionally violate the established procedures. A majority of the violators is among the older-age juveniles. Children from broken families behave worse.

An aim of our research was an attempt to recreate the portrait of a juvenile who had become or could become a drug addict, and to draw attention of those working in the LVP to the particular features of the sociodemographic, criminological and medical-psychological properties of the individual. Only then will the rehabilitation process help a majority of the juveniles in developing other interests and give their conduct a positive focus. Consequently, the prime task is to train the educator personnel specially for the medical-educational and medical-labor preventorium.

The question of organizing labor education also requires an immediate and fundamental solution. The job in which the juveniles are presently employed simply cannot provide the proper educational impact.

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A Plant Needs a Boss

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[Article by Semen Grigoryevich Saftro, candidate of philosophical sciences, and acting department head at the TsNIITEltraktorselkhoz mash. This is the first time he appears in our journal]

[Text] For a long period of time, the articles and reports, the TV and radio broadcasts have been full of appeals such as "particular attention to the rational use of resources," "strengthen economy" and "make better use of existing reserves." The goal is quite obvious and that is to reduce unproductive expenditures in the national economy. However, as statistics indicates, the situation over many years has remained virtually unchanged in this area. The economist V.V. Sechenova has pointed out in her article: "In terms of the absolute amount, the gap between the produced and utilized national income at first glance is not very great and is around 1.5 percent of the volume of the newly created value in the national economy, however if one considers the scale of the nation, then the harm from these losses is enormous and in 1985, they were around 10 billion rubles. And over the last 25 years, the relative amount of these losses has showed a tendency to steadily increase [1].

What is the reason for this? Obviously, the mechanism which might be conditionally termed the "mechanism of carefulness" has not been put into operation. This is expressed in views, in daily actions and the results of activities and expresses, above all, the interest of the workers in the rational utilization of fixed and working capital. The chief condition for such interest is the presence of a situation whereby each worker feels himself to be the actual master of his enterprise.

This mechanism does not work regardless of the mass of slogans, appeals, the organization of movements and

initiatives, regardless of the introduction of individual specific incentive systems (for example, for saving rolled metals, electric power, oil products, for increasing the return on investment and so forth). At the same time, awareness more and more is permeated with individualism and egoism with the feeling that one must look after oneself, for the personal. Undoubtedly, the development of this process has been aided both by the situation as a whole in the nation as well as by those difficulties which have been encountered by active persons, who think creatively and show an economic attitude toward the popular good, when they try to introduce their progressive developments into practice.

The results of research conducted by the TsNIITEltraktorselkhoz mash [Central Scientific Research Institute for Economics and Labor in Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building] and its affiliates in 1986-1987 at seven machine building enterprises in agricultural and tractor machine building in various regions of the nation clearly reflected this process. Here over 500 persons were questioned including workers, brigade leaders and foremen. This work pursued three important goals: ascertaining the degree of social activeness of the workers in solving the problems of resource savings, disclosing the reasons for an uneconomic attitude toward the popular weal as well as determining the ways for raising the social activeness in this area.

The indicators for an economic attitude were activities in the area of the rational utilization of resources at one's work area as well as the response to shortcomings in the saving of resources at the enterprise and at home.

Let us analyze the first indicator. In order that there be no unproductive losses, each worker, brigade leader and foreman should perform a series of obligatory actions and, in addition, when necessary, show initiative and inventiveness. In the course of the poll it became clear that around 8 percent of the respondents did not perform even the elementary functions prescribed for them by the instructions and rules and ensuring the rational utilization of resources; 43.4 percent performed individual essential functions; 11.8 percent performed everything as prescribed for them by the instructions and rules; 33.2 percent in addition to this also showed initiative, that is, they introduced innovation proposals, made changes in the organization of their work area and so forth.

Thus, the disinterested attitude by over 1/2 of those questioned in their work area in essence can lead and actually does lead to the irrational utilization of various resources and fixed capital.

Has there been a change in the attitude toward the workplace, toward the use of raw products, materials and energy in the labor process depending upon the various social factors? As became clear, this is practically not influenced or very little influenced by such factors as sex, education and job satisfaction. At the same time, a definite relationship does exist between the length of employment and the attitude toward one's workplace.

With an increased length of employment, the share of those who actively improves their workplace increases while the expenditures of labor and various sorts of resources decline. Here growth is characteristic for all intervals along the scale of the length of employment, except initially, with under a year of employment. Within this interval a majority is active workers with some 45 percent. Then the number of active persons declines. With a length of employment of 1-3 years, this is 17.1 percent. After 3 years of employment, there is a gradual rise (from 30.5 percent with 3-5 years of employment to 39 percent with over 25 years). This phenomenon, in our view, requires independent analysis. We do not intend to carry this out in the current article.

As was pointed above, the "feeling of a boss" is also clearly apparent in the response to the insufficient saving of resources at the enterprise. Table 1 reflects data on the activeness of the response by plant workers to shortcomings in the saving of resources at different levels of management.

Table 1: Response of Workers to Shortcomings in Saving of Resources at Various Enterprise Management Levels (N = 509), %

Level of Enterprise Management	Number Questioned
Do not respond to shortcomings	63.7
Respond to shortcomings only at brigade work area	26.7
Respond to shortcomings in shop	7.1
Respond to shortcomings at plant	2.0

An analysis of the table leads one to two important conclusions. In the first place, a larger portion of those questioned did not respond to shortcomings as they are indifferent to what happens at the enterprise. Secondly, the higher the level of production management, the less active the workers in eliminating shortcomings (of course, if these shortcomings do not involve them personally).

But how does the same worker behave at home, at the dacha, in the courtyard, in observing instances of mismanagement? Let us turn to Table 2.

Table 2: Response of Workers to Shortcomings in Saving of Resources at Home (N = 509), %

Response	Number Questioned
Do not respond to shortcomings	6.7
Respond passively (make comments)	11.2
Respond actively, eliminate shortcomings independently, without involving those around in their work	26.3
Respond actively, involving persons around in their work	33.0
Did not answer	22.8

In the given instance, the picture is the opposite of what was observed in Table 1, and namely: a larger portion of those questioned responds actively to shortcomings in

savings at home (including in their courtyard, at the dacha and so forth). Clearly, the principle of "oneself comes first" works flawlessly.

The current economic situation of the nation urgently requires a fundamental change in the established attitude toward the public good and, in particular, to the use of fixed and working capital. In this sense, it is essential to activate the position of each worker as the boss of the enterprise. In what manner can this be done? Certainly for a long time others in the school, in the technical school and VUZ, and at the enterprise were concerned with this and made the decisions. The vastness of the nation and the inexhaustibility of its resources were propagandized. Over a long period of time, they encouraged the common results of work but not the specific contribution of each worker.

Incidentally, encouraging the saving of resources is a special question and an effective solution to it will make it possible to achieve major results. Our research has shown that, in the first place, a very insignificant share of the workers and foremen was encouraged precisely to save resources (this conclusion is confirmed by the data of other authors) [2], and secondly, with a rise in wages the attitude toward the rational utilization of resources does not change. probably it is not so much a matter of wages as it is a whole range of factors, including psychological ones.

A lease and the forming of cooperatives are a dependable way to activate this view. Precisely with these forms of production relations, the well-being of each worker is directly dependent both upon his contribution to the common results as well as upon the effective work of the entire collective. In this instance, personal and collective interests are integrated. Leasehold and cooperative relations force a person to seek out reserves and show concern for the safekeeping of fixed capital and the saving of resources. However, this way also has its restrictions and shortcomings.

Thus, all the interests of the worker are focused on obtaining profit for the collective. Everything that is outside the sphere of activity of the cooperative or the least enterprise can be ignored and for the sake of profit he may take a predatory attitude toward natural resources and the environment.

Consequently, additional measures are needed for these forms of economic relations in order to create obstacles to mismanagement outside the sphere of activity of the leased and cooperative enterprises and shops. These measures will provide a unity of personal, collective and social interests. In all probability, such measures should include legal enactments as well as the corresponding systems of encouragement and ideological action. In order to activate the "mechanism of carefulness," it is essential, to put it figuratively, to know at what time which levers are to be pressed. In the course of the research conducted by the institute, the workers were asked what factors in the life of man have the strongest

impact on his economic attitude toward public well-being. A choice was offered of the most important of 15 factors.

In childhood the influence of parents is the main, determining factor (this was pointed out by 65.6 percent of those questioned). Their stereotypes of behavior and attitude toward the actions of others as well as family talks create a basis for the further development of the "feeling of a boss." Also important in this process are the school (education by the teacher and the effect of the school collective) and the first job (respectively, 32.6 and 29.1 percent of those questioned).

As it turned out, other factors, including the mass information media and oral propaganda, are less important.

Thus, there is a triad of factors which determines the shaping of the "feeling of a boss" in man: the home, family, parents—school—first job. Other factors obviously must be considered as reinforcing and intensifying this influence.

In our view, the achieving of such an important goal as shaping the "feeling of a boss" undoubtedly will provide visible results in improving the well-being of the people and bettering the processes of the nation's economic development. We propose working out and carrying out a nationwide program which would incorporate measures of spiritual and economic action and a study of the changes occurring in society in introducing these measures. The adjusting of the latter should also be provided for. The program should have a multiyear period of action (possibly a decade) so that as a result the "feeling of a boss" would become an inseparable part in the behavioral psychology of each worker.

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